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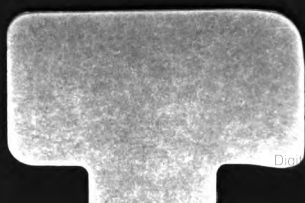
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*Three churchmen, sketches &
reminiscences of M. Russell, bishop ...*

William Walker



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THREE CHURCHMEN

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THREE CHURCHMEN

Sketches & Reminiscences

OF

THE RIGHT REV. MICHAEL RUSSELL, LL.D., D.C.L.

BISHOP OF GLASGOW

THE RIGHT REV. CHARLES HUGHES TERROT, D.D.

BISHOP OF EDINBURGH

AND

GEORGE GRUB, LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM WALKER, LL.D.

MONYMUSK

EDINBURGH: R. GRANT & SON

107 PRINCES STREET

1893



P R E F A C E

THE writer has to apologise for delay in the issue of the present volume. His excuse is the desire to make the sketches more accurate and complete. He waited patiently for materials of interest, some of which came to hand rather late. One result of the delay has been that he has thereby been enabled to add a third to the two eminent names which appeared in the original prospectus. The two Churchmen have become three—and the last is certainly not the least, or of least interest, to the men of this generation. They were all good men and true—men whom their Church should have in lasting remembrance. This volume is a humble attempt to “throw a stone to their cairn.” *His saltem accumulem donis.*

In addition to his acknowledgments of help in the Introduction, the writer begs here to return his best thanks to the Right Reverend Bishop Dowden, Edinburgh; the Rev. Canon Low, Largs; the Rev. Robert Webster Crosby, Ravensworth; Dr. William Alexander, Aberdeen; and last, though not least, Mr. Bruce Adam, Edinburgh, who furnished a number of lengthy extracts from minute books—most trustworthy materials!

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THREE CHURCHMEN.

INTRODUCTION.

TAKEN together, the lives of the three Churchmen, whose characters are here sketched, extended over rather more than a century—beginning with the eve of the repeal of the penal laws, and closing with the anniversary of the repeal. All were men of mark in their day and generation, becoming prominent one after another as the Church emerged from the lethargy of the Twenties and the Thirties. The third name in the list, that of the late very able, learned, and amiable Aberdeen professor, cannot but have a lively interest for all present-day Churchmen. It may be otherwise with the two venerable prelates, who belong to an older generation. They and their works are receding into the dim past. But there was much in their characters, their works, and their services, that is full of interest and instruction to Churchmen of all times. It is possible indeed that the present writer may be disposed to overrate their merits, he having had the good fortune to sit at the feet of both at the Theological Hall, Edinburgh, and to receive from both the most kind and fatherly treatment. He long hoped to see a fitting memoir of both prelates from the pen of some writer who had had

the advantage of an intimate acquaintance with them ; but this hope was doomed to disappointment. Neither of them indeed passed away "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung." Several very appreciative notices of Bishop Terrot, both in prose and verse, appeared soon after his death—notably one on the ecclesiastical side, by Dean Ramsay, another on the scientific side, by Professor Kelland ; on both of which the present writer has largely drawn. In the case of Bishop Russell, however, such fugitive notices as appeared on his demise were rather meagre—a fact probably to some extent due to the difficulty of obtaining particulars of his early career.

The writer did not stand alone in his disappointment at this seeming neglect. Within the last twenty years, more than one eminent Churchman has expressed to him a very earnest desire to see an adequate memoir of one or the other of these two bishops—especially of Michael Russell. As early, as 1876, the late Chaplain-General to the Forces—an old pupil of Bishop Russell's at Stirling—not only urged the writer to undertake such a memoir of his old friend, but also sent him his own reminiscences of Russell's early days.*

On December 22nd, 1878, the late eminent scholar and theologian, Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrews, wrote thus—"Is there no hope of your being induced to undertake a similar memoir of Bishop Gleig's friend, Bishop Russell? I shall rejoice to hear of you coming forward to rescue *his* name also from the unmerited oblivion into which it may otherwise fall ; for as a *writer*, he was superior, I think, in some respects even to Bishop Gleig," &c.

As the time at which both prelates flourished is com-

* *Vide* Chap. I.

paratively recent, the writer has touched but lightly on most of their public acts, especially those connected with the controversies of the day, and in short he has written sketches rather than biographies. If this is an error, it is surely one in the right direction. Reviewers and critics in these days with one voice complain of the length of biographies, and maintain that in most cases they would have far more interest and value if they were one-half or one-third the length. A good instance is supplied by the recently published life of Professor Sedgwick, Bishop Terrot's life-long friend. Of this biography the *Quarterly Review* says, "It might have been doubled in interest, and more than doubled in utility, if it had been halved in length." *

The writer trusts that these sketches, however short and imperfect, will yet sufficiently indicate the high character and great capacity of the two eminent prelates. They were men of their day and generation—fitted by taste, talents, and training for the work which their hands found to do. That work was to carry on (with a difference) the policy and the traditions of the Skinners, the Jollys, and the Gleigs. It was a period of transition—almost of revolution. On all hands old things were passing away, or being sharply put to the question. With changed times also, the predominance in power and influence which a hundred years before had passed to the north was now reverting to the south; and in the south the clergy were mostly drawn from England or Ireland. The native candidates for orders still came almost entirely from the Aberdeen district, but not in large numbers; and when ordained they had little chance of promotion, except in the north.

Quarterly Review, 343, p. 96.

It was the writer's fortune to witness the beginning of one phase of the general transition from the old order to the new—viz., the temporary training of the students of theology by these two bishops, Terrot and Russell. Till the session of 1841-42, this important duty had been discharged by Dr. Walker, the first Pantonian professor—a learned and very capable man, but single-handed, and latterly very delicate in health. A college was in preparation for the candidates for orders; but years were required for its completion, and meantime the work of instruction must go on. It was entrusted to Bishops Russell and Terrot. The two bishops divided it between them, and carried it on steadily and continuously—greatly to the satisfaction of all concerned. In the spring of 1842, Bishop Russell wrote to Primus Skinner that there had been “real teaching” this session; but other letters of his leave no room for doubt that he felt that there was still great need for improvement in the whole system. Even then both the staff of teachers and the time devoted to teaching were too limited, and the students came up to the Hall sometimes before completing their attendance at the University Arts’ Classes. Occasionally a man attended one of the Aberdeen Colleges for three sessions, and then went up to Edinburgh, and, while attending the Hall, took his fourth session (moral philosophy) at Edinburgh University, the result being, as Bishop Russell said; that he “fell between two stools”—failing to give due attention to either theology or philosophy. Another man attended two years at each of two Universities, but took the same classes in both—omitting mathematics and both natural and moral philosophy. Bishop Russell insisted on something like an entrance examination for the students. “If we live till September we must lay down rules for the

admission of students to our Theological Institution. In this respect we have never yet been placed on a right footing; and much evil has resulted from the lax, irregular way in which persons have been received." *

It was the first session of the two bishops (1841-42) that the present writer attended. As usual, most of the students—in fact all of them who ever took orders (in Scotland at least)—came from the Diocese of Aberdeen. Two or three men from the south attended the classes; but, so far as the writer knows, not one of them ever proceeded to orders. There were four men from the north—John Alexander, Alexander Harper, William Bruce, and the writer. All these took orders in their native Church, and served it from youth to age. Dr. Alexander resigned the charge of St. Columba's, Edinburgh, several years ago. Mr. Harper died Dean of Aberdeen in the year 1886. Canon Bruce, after holding the charge of Dunfermline for eighteen years, removed to England for a time, taking duty for a few years in the Diocese of London. In 1869 he came to Culross, where he broke new ground; and there he still lives and labours, ministering to a thriving congregation and also a promising mission, both of his own gathering, and dispensing graceful hospitality at his quaintly picturesque Castle of Dunimarle.

The students formed a very harmonious band. Generally their opinions were somewhat crude and unformed. But it was a time of life, activity, and hope. The Oxford movement had had a rousing and stirring effect on the northern Church. As yet it had only done good. It had tended to raise and broaden the views of Churchmen generally. Of this the students were witnesses. The writer remembers very distinctly listening to the sermons

* Letter to Bishop Skinner, March 26th, 1842.

of two popular evangelical preachers—delivered on special occasions in Edinburgh churches—and then hearing the congratulatory remarks which were made regarding them by Edinburgh Churchmen. “What do you think of a *Church* sermon like *that* from Montgomery?” And “Fancy Bagot preaching in that High Church style! Oxford has done this.” Oxford had made those men take note of Church history, of neglected Church doctrines and Church ordinances, and strive to declare “all the counsel of God,” instead of confining themselves to two or three favourite doctrines.

But all such revivals soon develop a divisive element. Of the working of that element in the Oxford movement the students soon had proof. Two of their number heard a sermon one Sunday in St. John’s Church, Edinburgh, by an Oxford man—Frederick William Faber—which appeared to startle them very much. They assured their fellow-students next day that they could hardly conceive how many “strange things” the preacher “brought to the ears” of the St. John’s people. It seemed, said they, as if he had purposely set himself to rouse his hearers by introducing into his sermon the greatest number of new and startling statements.

In Scotland the influence of the Oxford movement had as yet hardly extended beyond the region of opinion and speculation. To the great body of Churchmen it was practically unknown. The clergy and the more ecclesiastically-minded laymen took a lively interest in it; but as yet it had in general told little upon doctrine, and still less upon worship. So far as the writer could judge at the time, there had been very little change in the mode of worship since the beginning of the century. It was much the same in all the Edinburgh churches—plain,

orderly, and decent ; but somewhat deficient in elasticity and variety—in brightness and “unction.” Oxford could help in these rousing and stirring elements. But time was necessary. In such matters the northern mind, however *perfervidum*, moves but slowly—seldom, if ever, originating a great religious movement, and never closing with any religious system till it has fully and patiently examined it ; but, when once embraced, cleaving to it with fervour and determination.

The two bishops were men who, from age and temperament, could not be very deeply impressed by the new movement ; but, from breadth and balance of mind, they were excellently well qualified to cope with the difficulties that sprang from the movement.

DR. GRUB.

With the distinguished lay Churchman the case was different. Him the movement reached under different conditions, and, in its first stage, made a deep impression upon him. He was more than twenty years younger than the younger of the two bishops—Dr. Terrot—and him he survived twenty years ; and thus the third name brings the reminiscences down to the present day. No one who knew Dr. Grub will doubt that, in company with these two prelates, the Aberdeen professor is in his right place. The Bishops would at any time have warmly welcomed him to the bench. Of him, as of William Stevens, it might have been most truly said, “Here is a man who, though not a bishop, would have been thought worthy of that character in the first and purest ages of the Church.”*

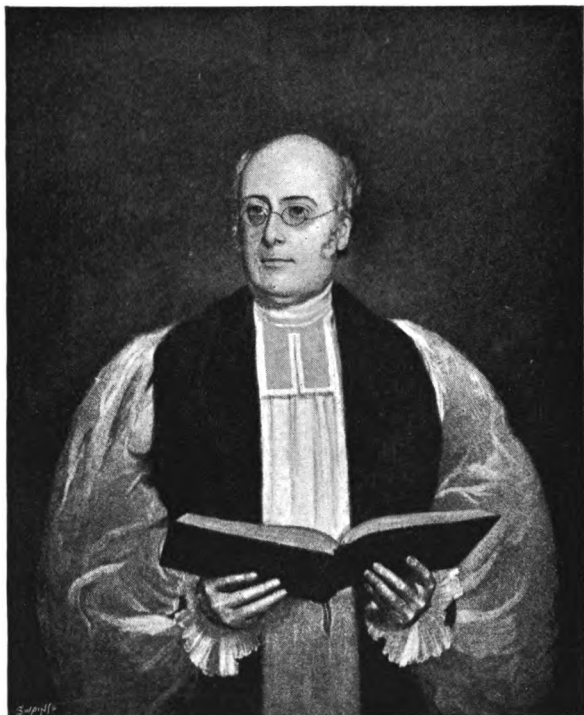
At any time during the last fifty years, George Grub

* The remark of Dr. Douglas of Salisbury, and his brother bishops, after the delivery of an S.P.G. sermon. See Park's *Life of Stevens*, p. 21.

could, with or without a week's notice, have passed an excellent examination for orders, and, like Ambrose, might have been raised to the episcopate *per saltum*. The writer always regarded him as an M.P. lately said he regarded Mr. Gladstone—viz., “as half a clergyman.”

For materials for one or other of the three sketches, the writer begs to acknowledge his indebtedness to the following ladies and gentlemen:—Miss Terrot and Miss Elizabeth Louisa Terrot; the late Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Andrews; the Very Rev. the Dean of Edinburgh; the Rev. Canon Wilson, Edinburgh; Rev. Canon Bruce, Dunimarle; and Rev. Canon Malcolm, Dunblane; the Rev. Dr. Danson, Aberdeen, Rev. George Grub, Ayr; Rev. George Sutherland, Portsoy; Rev. Dr. Teape, Edinburgh; Rev. W. M. Meredith, Muthill; the Rev. Rowland Ellis, and James Bruce Adam, Esq., of St. Paul's, York Place, Edinburgh.

BISHOP RUSSELL



BISHOP RUSSELL.

BISHOP RUSSELL.

CHAPTER I.

HIS BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS—ENTERS GLASGOW UNIVERSITY—GRADUATES WITH HONOURS—CHAPLAIN-GENERAL GLEIG'S REMINISCENCES—APPOINTED SECOND MASTER OF STIRLING GRAMMAR SCHOOL—FRIENDSHIP WITH BISHOP GLEIG—JOINS THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH—IS ORDAINED AND TAKES CHARGE OF THE ALLOA MISSION—APPOINTED TO ST. JAMES'S, LEITH—HIS ENTRIES IN THE CHURCH REGISTER—NOTES THERE THE VARIOUS UPWARD STEPS IN HIS OWN CAREER.

MICHAEL RUSSELL was one of a small but influential band of graduates and *alumni* of our Scottish Universities, who, though brought up as Presbyterians, yet cast in their lot with the depressed Episcopal Church almost as soon as they "came to years." These men, each in his day and generation, did the Church great and effectual service—proving in some respects more efficient promoters and defenders of the faith than the children whom she had brought up and trained from infancy; for they generally embraced the principles of the Church without the prejudices of the Churchman. They took broader views and were more tolerant—they continued more in touch with their own countrymen. They knew better what arguments would tell with the typical Scotchman, and they instinctively avoided statements which were calculated to give needless offence.

Michael Russell was a native of Edinburgh. His father's name was John, and Michael was the eldest son—*filius natu maximus*. This information has been supplied to the writer from the Glasgow Matriculation Album. Further back than this he cannot go. Of Michael's early years previous to entering the University he has no record. It was in the beginning of the session of 1800-1 that Michael matriculated at Glasgow University. As appears from the class catalogues, he attended the University for five years, omitting the session of 1804-5, and taking his degree at the close of 1805-6. It is well known that at that time, and for many years after, only a small number of the students in the southern Universities of Scotland took a degree. Apparently it was only the very best scholars who did so—those who would now be called the "honours men." The writer has always heard that Mr. Russell stood high in the list; but he learns from the assistant-secretary that the precise position which he held cannot be ascertained from the University Register.* His name is in the Graduation Register under date "ivth Nonas Aprilis MDCCCVI—Michael Russel Scotus." In the register the names are all signed by the students themselves; but they "are not in alphabetical order, and the book does not state whether or not they were in the order of merit. Mr. Russell's name is the seventh of the ten."

It is to be observed that at this period, as for twenty years afterwards, Mr. Russell spelt his name with only one *l*. In the University lists, when it is written by others, it is spelt with two.

* "Had it been twenty years later than 1806 when the graduation took place, I could have readily furnished all you desire."—Letter, Jan. 25th, 1880.

Judging from the class catalogues Mr. Russell appears to have attended only one class each session, the Latin class in 1800, the Greek next year, Logic the following year, then Ethics, and, lastly, after a year's interval, Physics. Thus his college course extended over five sessions, and nearly six years ; a fact which was probably due, to some extent, to a deficiency of means, which rendered it necessary that he should eke out his resources by taking pupils, and devoting as much time to teaching as to learning. This has been the lot of many an ardent and meritorious Scotch student. However it may have been with Mr. Russell in his undergraduate days, he had no sooner taken his degree than all obstacles seemed to vanish from his path ; he obtained, at once, suitable and remunerative employment, and within a couple of years he was ordained and put in charge of the congregation of Alloa.

SECOND MASTER OF STIRLING GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

The steps by which this sudden and great change in Mr. Russell's position and views was brought about, the writer has great pleasure in being able to relate in the words of a keen and sympathetic eye- and ear-witness—the late Rev. G. R. Gleig,* one of Mr. Russell's pupils at that early time. “On the removal to Glasgow,” says Mr. Gleig, “of Mr. Crystal, the headmaster of the Stirling Grammar School, the Provost and Town Council, being patrons of the institution, put up the vacant office to competition. Many candidates presented themselves, and, among the rest, Mr. Michael Russell, a young man of gentle manners, and of very taking exterior, who had

* In a letter to the writer by the late distinguished Chaplain-General, of date January 22nd, 1879.

graduated with high honours at the University of Glasgow as Master of Arts. He proved to be, beyond comparison, the best scholar of the band, but my father considered that it would be hard upon the then assistant-master—himself a competent scholar—who had taught in the school many years, if, on the ground of scholarship only, a youth quite unused to tuition should be brought in over his head. He therefore prevailed upon the patrons to nominate Mr. Burdon, the assistant in question, to the first place, and to offer the second, then indeed vacant, to Mr. Russell. The offer was accepted, and, for a year or two, Mr. Russell officiated as second master in the Stirling Grammar School. His singularly modest and winning deportment soon drew my father towards him, and, as their intimacy became more close, the bishop was not slow to discover that his young friend was calculated to adorn a far higher station than that on which circumstances had cast him. The result need not be stated here, except very briefly. Mr. Russell, under my father's guidance, applied himself to the study of questions which had previously little interest for him. He became a convert to Episcopacy, and being thereby disqualified for the second mastership of a Presbyterian school, he resigned it. His reputation as a scholar had, however, filled his house with boarders, and though most of them were the sons of Glasgow merchants, and therefore Presbyterians, not one of them was withdrawn. Mr. Russell opened a school of his own, to which my elder brother and myself, as well as the sons of a good many Episcopalian gentlemen, were sent; and probably others among these, as well as myself, would have confessed that to the able and kindly training they received at his hands, the good seed of whatever success in after years

befell them, was in no slight measure due. In due time Mr. Russell was admitted into deacon's orders, and put in charge of a small congregation at Alloa. He, however, retained his school in the latter town,* which he resigned only when called to a more important sphere of labour. How he won all men's hearts while ministering to the Episcopalians of Leith, and how he built up for himself, at the same time, a well-earned reputation as a divine and a man of letters, his biographer will sooner or later tell." Mr. Gleig goes on to say here what he in substance said in several other communications to the present writer:—"For the present I must be content to speak of him as one of whom my father thought more highly than of any other clergyman in Scotland. How anxious he was to see his friend on the episcopal bench has already been shown, and his satisfaction when the event came to pass was proportionally great." In another place Mr. Gleig writes: "My father's feelings towards this accomplished and amiable man were those rather of a parent to a deserving son, than those of a friend to a friend." As will be seen, these feelings were reciprocated by Mr. Russell.

Mr. Gleig's reminiscences of the Mr. Russell of eighty years ago entirely agree with the present writer's recollections of the Bishop Russell of fifty years ago. In every leading lineament of character the aged bishop and Bell Lecturer recalled the youthful tutor and deacon. There was the same mildness and gentleness of disposition and manner, the same amiability of character, the same love of learning, and steady application to study, and faithful discharge of duty. To the last he continued *qualis ab incepto*. The writer has no intention of attempting more

* Doubtless this means Stirling.

than a rapid sketch of the bishop's career—professional and literary. Indeed, with a man of his temperament pursuing, as he did, steadily the even tenor of his way through good report and evil report, almost the only outstanding events of life are the different steps of his advancement in the Church, and the books which at intervals he published throughout his whole career. Mr. Russell had certainly no cause to complain of the treatment which the Church of his adoption accorded to him. Alloa supplied him with a title and the needful starting point; and immediately after he thus had an opportunity of “giving full proof of his ministry,” he was elected incumbent of St. James's, Leith, the important charge which had been so long ably presided over by Bishop Robert Forbes. With Alloa congregation he remained only about two years; Leith became his home for life.

HIS CHARGE OF ALLOA.

Mr. Russell's charge of Alloa seems to have been from the first only of a partial and quasi-missionary character. The present clergyman of Alloa, Mr. Hallen, says,* “He was never, I believe, incumbent here, but took charge of the congregation as a mission from Stirling.” Taking this statement in connection with Mr. Gleig's, the natural inference is that Mr. Russell continued to reside in Stirling, where he had a proper house and other facilities for the keeping of pupils, and only drove out to Alloa to take the Sunday duty. But it seems that there is at Alloa no trace left of his brief ministry.

CONGREGATIONAL RECORDS.

In those days Minute Books and Church Registers were

* Letter to writer, January 11th, 1889.

seldom kept with any regularity, and if kept, they were not always preserved in the congregation. Apparently the clergyman regarded it as a matter of choice whether he should keep registers or not, and if he did keep them, he looked upon them rather as private than public property, and either took them with him, if he removed to another charge, or bequeathed them with his books and papers. In some cases it is known that at the sale of a deceased clergyman's effects the registers were put up for sale, and disposed of along with the other books. We know how carefully, if not always very methodically, some of the clergy of last century kept their registers. Mr. Hunter of Shetland's registers are invaluable, so are those of Mr. Lunan of Blairdaff, and also those of Bishop Robert Forbes of Leith. But of these only Bishop Forbes's, if indeed the whole of them, have been preserved to the congregation ; Mr. Lunan carried his with him to North Water Bridge ; and Mr. Hunter's seem to have only been preserved by a happy accident. No doubt Bishop Alexander, who so long held the charge of Alloa, kept registers ; but, if so, none of them are to be found amongst the records of the congregation. Apparently there are no Alloa registers dating further back than 1837—twenty-eight years after Mr. Russell left. Yet, strangely enough, the first baptism entered in the register seems to have been performed by him. The entry is a phenomenally imperfect one, and evidently, as Mr. Hallen says, a transcript from a former record. Of seven headings given, only three are filled up in any way. The child's name is omitted, and the sex—only the date of the baptism (June 18th, 1837), the parents' surname, (Grier), and "the person who performed the ceremony" (the Rev. Dr. Russell). The only other occasion on which

Mr. Russell is recorded to have had official connection with his first sphere of duty is when, acting for the Bishop of Edinburgh, he, as bishop, consecrated the second of the three churches which the Alloa congregation has erected for itself.

APPOINTMENT TO ST. JAMES'S, LEITH.

Mr. Russell was appointed to the charge of St. James's, Leith, in the autumn of 1809. After the manner of the time, he "preached as a candidate"; and there is an interesting anecdote preserved in an influential Church family which shows that the leading ladies of the congregation by a bold dash succeeded in practically ousting their lords from the seat of judgment, and wresting the appointment from their hands. "Mr. M—— (not then an Episcopalian, though he afterwards became one) had known Mr. Russell before, and on his coming to preach as a candidate in St. James's, asked him to dine, and asked the vestry, or some of them, to meet him on the Sunday. The vestry, afraid, probably, to commit themselves, with one consent excused themselves. But on the conclusion of the service the *wives* of the vestry came one by one to Mr. M——, and said they did not understand how it was that their husbands had refused, and that, if it would not put Mrs. M—— too much about, *they* would come. It was rather a serious inroad on a Sunday family dinner; but the M——s were not sorry, as it showed the effect he (Mr. Russell) had produced." * There is sometimes "a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself"; and all who were concerned in the appointment must have felt that, after this demonstration, the

* Letter to writer from the Rev. Canon Jackson, Leith, January 9th, 1890.

vestry could only decide in one way. Their hand had been forced.

Mr. Russell entered on his duties at Leith in the beginning of November. Here he found ample scope for his best energies every day of the week ; and his steady, faithful ministry of forty years was abundantly blessed to the Church. All ministerial duties, including the keeping and preservation of registers, were duly and regularly attended to. No such business-like regularity had been observed by any of his predecessors, at least since the days of Bishop Forbes—thirty-four years before.

Mr. Russell began the regular keeping of a baptismal register about fourteen months after his appointment, and he prefaced his entries by the following note :—
“For the year 1810, and the two last months of 1809, immediately following my appointment to Leith, no registers were kept, nor had any record of baptisms or marriages been maintained in the chapel for more than forty years ; at least no documents were transmitted to me.—M. RUSSELL, minister.”

One great charm of some of the old registers is their gossip character : they read like diaries, or “annals of the parish,” the minister jotting down whatever happened to strike him as likely to interest the Church or posterity. To some extent Mr. Russell continued this practice. The register chronicles almost every change in his own dignity, style, and title. Under the year 1825, he writes : “About this period I adopted the practice of adding an *l* to my name, as, in correspondence with the War Office and Board of Ordnance,* I found it necessary to sign Russell as they wrote it, with two *l*'s.—M. RUSSELL.”

* He was chaplain to the troops at Piershill Barracks.

At the end of the baptisms for 1837 he signs himself, "M. Russell, minister, and Bishop of Glasgow, consecrated 8th October, 1837, by Bishop Walker, Primus, Bishop Low, and Bishop Skinner."

As will be seen hereafter, he received, as early as 1820, from his *Alma Mater* of Glasgow the degree of Doctor of Laws, yet it was not till June of 1838 that he signs himself "M. Russell, LL.D., minister and bishop." By December, 1842, Oxford as well as Glasgow University had honoured him with a degree, and his signature now became "Michael Russell, LL.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Glasgow, and minister of St. James's Chapel."

The only dignity conferred upon Mr. Russell, but unnoted in the register, is that of Dean. He was made Dean of Edinburgh in 1831, when Dr. Walker, the then dean, was made bishop. Such a set of entries as the above are interesting in many ways. In such matters the precise dates are more or less useful—in some cases they may be invaluable; while the fact of the "minister's" thus noting down each separate step in his steadily upward career is a true "touch of nature."

CHAPTER II.

HIS CONDUCT AS PASTOR—STYLE OF PREACHING—MADE LL.D. OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY—REPRESENTS THE DIOCESE OF EDINBURGH IN THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1828—VOTES FOR MAKING THE GENERAL SYNOD QUINQUENNIAL—MADE DEAN OF EDINBURGH (1831)—BISHOP GLEIG'S REPEATED ATTEMPTS TO HAVE HIM APPOINTED COADJUTOR TO HIM AS BISHOP OF BRECHIN—MADE BISHOP OF GLASGOW (1837)—SENT TO LONDON (1840) BY HIS COLLEAGUES TO PROCURE THE REPEAL OF CLAUSE VII. OF THE RELIEF ACT OF 1792, WHICH PROHIBITED A CLERGYMAN IN SCOTTISH ORDERS FROM EVEN OFFICIATING ONCE IN AN ENGLISH CHURCH—HIS INTERVIEWS WITH MEN IN POWER, STATESMEN AND ECCLESIASTICS—SUCCESS OF HIS MISSION.

THE character which his old pupil the Chaplain-General gives of his early tutor's disposition and manners was Mr. Russell's character through life. He was ever the same—in all grades of office—gentle, moderate, tolerant, and conciliatory. Yet he was never deficient in zeal, energy, or enterprise, though the enterprise took more readily the literary than the pastoral line.

In his "form of doctrine" and style of services he was a man of his age and of his diocese; resembling a clergyman of the eighteenth century English type,* rather than the Keiths and Forbeses—those ardent Jacobites and

* On one occasion the writer asked Bishop Suther what sort of person he had got for a temporary assistant in St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen. In reply the bishop began a description of the gentleman, noting his appearance, manners, and ecclesiastical affinities; but he cut it short with the emphatic exclamation, "He's an English *clergyman*!" This he seemed to regard as the desiderated description in a nutshell.

Usagers—who had preceded him at Leith. The services in Edinburgh had become completely Anglicised since the days of Forbes, Falconer, and Drummond. There was, so far as the writer remembers, little if any difference in the mode in which the service was conducted in the Edinburgh churches in the early "Forties." It was the old moderate High Church style. If in anything Bishop Russell differed from his Edinburgh brethren, it was in always designating himself, in his registers at least, as "minister"—"Minister of St. James's, Leith." In the title-pages of his books he is "Episcopal Minister, Leith." In one of his letters Lord Dudley, referring with approbation to one of his works, says it is by "An Episcopal Meenister at Leith."

If in any matter of higher importance Bishop Russell differed from his clerical brethren it was in his greater adaptability or his readiness to make changes required by changed times and circumstances—to encourage any step for rousing the Church from its lethargy, drawing forth its energies, and developing its resources by united and corporate action.

The first occasion on which he had an opportunity of taking part in making laws for the Church was at the General Synod of 1828, when he represented the Diocese of Edinburgh. He then supported warmly the canon (xvi.) which enacted that a General Synod should be held every fifth year. Then, as now, the calling of a General (or Provincial) Synod was at the option of the Episcopal Synod, and generally it had been found almost impossible to prevail on that right reverend body to agree to the issue of a summons. There had been only one General Synod between 1743 and 1828; and there would have been no Synod in 1828 had not Primus Gleig—driven to

despair by the persistent opposition of some of his colleagues—determined to disregard their dissent, and act with a bare majority. He was unable to accomplish very much on that occasion however. The colleagues who had opposed the meeting of the Synod no sooner found that it had been held without them, and had enacted some important canons, than they commenced to agitate for another Synod to undo the work of this one.

They were only too successful. The (Edinburgh) Synod of 1829 repealed most of the enactments of the Synod of 1828—including the Quinquennial Synod canon. The reversal was greatly against the will of Dr. Russell and his constituents. He had written to Bishop Skinner (March 21st, 1829), "The appointment of Quinquennial General Synods gave great satisfaction to this diocese, and I shall be sorry were the enactment to that effect repealed."

The changes in the canons which were effected by the Synod of 1829 were important but not extensive, and it was not thought necessary to have them printed. They were kept in manuscript till the meeting of next General Synod. This did not take place till nine years after, when Dr. Russell had been raised to the episcopate, and when more than one important measure was passed, and the Church took a fresh start.

HIS ELEVATION TO THE EPISCOPATE.

All throughout his career Dr. Russell's promotion came to him in the most natural and regular way. The first honorary distinction which he received was from his own University—Glasgow. On February 5th, 1820, there was a meeting of the Senate of the University, and "the

proposal to confer the degree of LL.D. on Mr. Michael Russell of Leith was unanimously agreed to." *

If Primus Gleig could have had his way, Mr. Russell would have been promoted to the episcopate a year before this academic promotion. After the manner of the time, the Primus, in the year 1819, devised a scheme for this purpose. A vacancy happened in that year in the Diocese of Ross and Argyll through the death of Bishop Macfarlane. The Primus and some of the other influential clergy in the south wished to take advantage of this opening to secure a re-arrangement of dioceses. It was proposed to detach Fife from the Diocese of Edinburgh, and have the new bishop consecrated for it—leaving Ross and Argyll to be re-united to Moray, or assigned to some other northern prelate. The Primus "very much wished to see Mr. Russell a bishop," and he accordingly pressed Mr. Russell to allow himself to be put on nomination. But Mr. Russell "fought shy of the office." He thought some other clergyman, and especially Mr. Low of Pittenweem, more fit and deserving of the office. "You will remember," he wrote to the Primus (September, 1819), "that I constantly insisted on one condition as preliminary to the most remote thought of becoming a bishop—that Mr. Low should first have renounced the office for Fife."

It was probably well for all parties that the proposal of a bishop for Fife was abandoned. The new bishop was consecrated for Ross and Argyll, and Mr. Low was the man. Mr. Russell was left at liberty to devote his spare time to literary work; and during the next eighteen years almost all his principal works were published.

* Extract from Glasgow University Records by Mr. W. Innes Addison—Letter of February 20th, 1889.

As has been seen, the first ecclesiastical dignity which was conferred on Dr. Russell was the Deanery of Edinburgh—in the year 1831, when Dr. Walker vacated that office to fill the metropolitan see. In that same year Primus Gleig again made a most persistent attempt to have Dr. Russell made a bishop *nolens volens*. This time he wanted him made coadjutor to himself as Bishop of Brechin. He pressed the other bishops to permit him to nominate Dr. Russell to that office. But it was too late in the day for that sort of appointment. Not only the diocesan clergy, but even the majority of the bishops were opposed to its continuance. It was seen that, however gone about, the practical effect of nomination was to deprive the diocesan clergy of their right of free choice—they had only Hobson's choice. And when only one candidate was set before them to choose or reject, the natural impulse of independent electors was to reject. Whatever the merits of the candidate might be, at this period he had little chance of election. So apparently it was in this case. Bishop Gleig said that he had consulted "the majority" of the clergy of Brechin on the subject, and he found them, he said, "unanimously of opinion that Dr. Russell was the fittest man in the Church for the office of his coadjutor." Very likely that was the real opinion of the clergy, and if they had been left to themselves, they might have given effect to it by the unanimous election of Dr. Russell. But they resented dictation. This appears very plainly from the minute of the Diocesan Synod of Brechin for the year 1831, and also from a letter of Bishop Walker to Bishop Torry (May 24th, 1837). "I have even thought," wrote Dr. Walker, "that Bishop Gleig was fully entitled to have a coadjutor when he several years ago desired it; but then he was not entitled to nominate the

person, nor to deprive the clergy of their free right of election. These clergy—and I believe they were the majority—who were disposed to vote for the man of his choice if they had been left free, refused to do so at his discretion.”

Dr. Russell was greatly annoyed at the Primus's persistence in claiming to nominate him. “My idea was,” he wrote to Bishop Skinner, September 9th, 1831, “that after ascertaining that a majority of the clergy were favourable to his views, he would return home, and obtain from his brethren on the bench a mandate to the Diocese of Brechin to proceed to the election of a coadjutor and successor. Had I been a presbyter in the Diocese of Brechin, I would most certainly have joined Messrs. Horsley and Moir: for there can be no doubt that if a bishop were permitted to name his successor, the rights of the priesthood would vanish into air.”

Bishop Gleig was foiled in his attempt in 1831. But he stuck to his purpose. He held Dr. Russell to be “indisputably the most learned man in the Church,” and he would have him for his coadjutor. After six more years of a practical vacancy of the Diocese of Brechin, he besought his brother bishops to permit him “to nominate immediately a coadjutor to Brechin.” “I need not tell you,” he added, “that I should nominate Dr. Russell, whose late publication [*The Connexion of Sacred and Profane History*] rates him in England among the most learned divines of the age.” By this time, however, the Primus had become conscious of the unpopularity of nominations: so this time he confined his request to the consecration of Dr. Russell “as assistant, but not as successor,” “the same terms,” he said, “on which Gregory Nazianzen was consecrated in the Primitive

Church"—*i.e.*, with the leave to retire into private life on the death of his father" or principal. The Primus had no doubt, he said, that Dr. Russell would then retire, because, said he, "at present he is Dean and Archdeacon of Edinburgh, and at the death of Bishop Walker he would probably be unanimously elected their diocesan."

Happily Bishop Gleig's zeal for his friend's elevation was speedily gratified in a "more excellent way." Promotion came to Dr. Russell not from the East but from the West—from a part of his own diocese in fact. Glasgow Diocese was disjoined from Edinburgh, and he was unanimously elected to it. His consecration took place at Edinburgh, October 8th, 1837—as he notes in his register—by the Bishops of Edinburgh, Ross, and Aberdeen, and along with the Rev. David Moir, the co-adjutor of Brechin.

Edinburgh excepted, Glasgow was by much the most suitable and convenient see which Dr. Russell could have had in those days of incumbent-bishops; being within easy reach of his charge and his residence.

As bishop, Dr. Russell soon made his influence beneficially felt in the Church, both at home and in England. He had now become well and creditably known on both sides of the Tweed, and on both sides work was speedily found for him.

The next year after his consecration (1838) a very efficient General Synod was held in Edinburgh—one which made the first effectual attempt to grapple with the cardinal question of Church finance. In the same year, Bishop Russell took the leading part in securing for the Church effectual help in another way—*viz.*, by the removal of degrading disabilities. The Relief Act of 1792 was clogged with an Article (vii.) which prohibited

clergymen of Scottish orders not only from holding livings, but even from officiating once in any church in England. Bishop Russell drew up a memorial on the subject for the guidance of ministers and members of Parliament—"setting forth briefly the history of the Church," and alluding to "the fact that Burnet, Tillotson, Durel, and Brevint, were all in Scottish orders."* After this he was deputed by his episcopal brethren to proceed to London—as Bishop John Skinner had been fifty years before—to pave the way for the passage of a bill for the removal of the disabilities. Like Bishop Skinner, Bishop Russell had interviews with the leading ecclesiastics and statesmen. He wrote many letters to his colleagues, especially to Primus Skinner, reporting progress, which prove that he conducted his negotiations with great care, diligence, and prudence, and with as great a measure of success as was attainable at the time. He was active with tongue and pen. He wrote letters on the subject to all the English bishops; he had interviews with many of them, and also with most of the leading statesmen of both parties. He met occasionally at dinner parties Churchmen of political weight, to whom in the *mollia tempora fandi* he set forth the Church's grievances in the most persuasive way. It was thus that, "after various adventures by coach and railroad," he, on reaching home, "gave an account of his stewardship" to Bishop Skinner (February 16, 1839)—"The result is simply this: The archbishop has resolved to bring into Parliament a bill to extend clerical communion to *us*, and also to the American Church, on the sole condition of having the permission of the bishop of the diocese wherein a Scottish Episcopal clergyman or an American priest may happen

* Neale's *Torry*, p. 124.

to be resident, and desirous to officiate. Such permission or license is required by the ecclesiastical law of England to enable the clergymen of one diocese to officiate in another. In practice it is not asked, nor will it, generally speaking, in our case; but to prevent irregularities, it is right that the power of questioning *strange clergymen* should be lodged in the hands of the bishops." "This check would apply only to the inferior clergy." In order to save trouble, Bishop Russell suggested to the archbishop "that the object might be accomplished by introducing a clause or *rider* into one of their own bills." The archbishop, however, thought "it would be most respectful to our Church to form a separate bill," and also less risky.

"I met the Bishop of Vermont," the bishop continues, "at dinner at the Bishop of London's, who seemed very grateful to us in the North for obtaining a boon also for his communion. Besides the archbishop and the Bishop of London, I was introduced to their Lordships of Carlisle, Winchester, and Llandaff, all of whom dined one day at Lambeth. They are all decidedly our friends. I had an audience of Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, and last, not least assuredly, the Duke of Wellington. Lord Melbourne assured me that the Government would support the bill, and Sir Robert Peel entered heartily into our views, and said, 'I approve entirely of the measure, and will give it my warmest support.' The Duke declared he would vote for any bill the archbishop might bring in for our benefit, and added, 'The Episcopal Church of Scotland is a great favourite with us all.'" This was "the substance of all that passed." The bishop adds, "I met with one or two persons in high places who spoke of your father with

kindness and respect." Bishop John Skinner made a deep impression on Churchmen in England, and was, it appears, still well remembered in certain friendly families.

As happened fifty years before, in the case of the first Relief Bill, so now there was a temporary hitch. At first there seemed to be no obstacle to the immediate passage of the bill, but when the time for action came difficulties sprang up—delay became necessary, and it was not till the session of 1840 that the bill became law.

As appears from his letters, this delay imposed upon Bishop Russell a very great deal of trouble and correspondence. In a letter to Bishop Skinner he says that "it is only those who have had to correspond on such matters who can be aware how many hindrances and stops come in the way." *

The privilege which it was proposed to concede was very small ; but the utmost care was taken to prevent the possibility of its being abused. It was proposed to introduce a clause to exclude from the benefits of the act Scotch clergymen of English or Irish birth, as if an Englishman or an Irishman was likely to go and take orders in Scotland that he might have it in his power some time or other to officiate for a single day in a church of his native country! But the clause, it was said, was meant as a safeguard against possible future contingencies. "The archbishop and Bishop of London anticipate the period when the clause as to *permission* will become a dead letter as to us, as their own law as to their diocesan intercourse has long been in regard to themselves, when Scottish ordained clergymen will be allowed to officiate without restriction. It will be an easy step, they think, first to hold a curacy and

* Letter, July 22nd, 1840.

finally a living." Hence "the object of the clause" was "to prevent English or Irish, who from want of University qualifications could not obtain ordination in the south from coming into Scotland for orders and then returning to hold preferment." * As will be seen, the clause was eventually withdrawn.

It was right, and indeed necessary, that Scotch and American clergy should be required to produce their credentials. At first it was not thought necessary to make any such requirement in the case of bishops, it being considered altogether unlikely that anyone would personate a bishop. It was found, however, that there had been a case of episcopal personation, and so a clause requiring the production of episcopal credentials was inserted in the bill. "The only awkward thing," wrote Bishop Russell to Bishop Skinner (July 22nd, 1840), is the necessity imposed on a bishop to present a letter signed by two other bishops certifying that *he* is one. This restriction as well as the other one, we owe to the circumstance of having on our shoulders the American Church. I was told distinctly by the Bishop of London that the rule had no respect to us, but to the Americans; and perhaps you are aware that a person passed himself off for a bishop in England, and was, for some time, received as such." †

Bishop Russell remonstrated against "the very limited extent of the time which the bishops were empowered to give" for officiating, and that chiefly on account of the "suspicious and jealous aspect of the restriction." The

* Letter of Bishop Russell to Bishop Skinner, June 12th, 1840—Wilson Collection.

† Of course, on account of the great distance of America, and the wide extent of the country, personation was a far easier matter for natives of that country than for those of little, contiguous Scotland.

remonstrance was effectual. Instead of "one or two Sundays," "two Sundays," the permission being "renewable from time to time," was the final form.

This, however, and indeed most of the other details, were of consequence only in so far as they served to bring out the great central purpose of the bill—viz., the public recognition of the orders of the Scotch bishops and clergy, and the inter-communion of the two Churches. Over this the archbishop in England, and Bishop Russell in Scotland, watched with assiduous care, and with very substantial success.

It is interesting even now to note the progress of the bill through the two Houses of Parliament. In the Lords, where it was introduced by the archbishop, no serious difficulty was encountered, and most of Bishop Russell's suggestions were readily adopted.

On June 18th, 1840, the archbishop wrote the bishop that, "in deference to the suggestion of Lord Shaftesbury, Chairman of Committee, he had withdrawn the first bill * and presented another in better form." "In this latter," he said, "I propose to make the transposition which you have suggested,† which will remove the ambiguity to which you adverted; and I do not see why the parenthesis respecting natives of England and Ireland should not be entirely omitted."

Eight days afterwards (June 26th) he wrote: "I had the satisfaction last night of passing the Scotch Episcopal Church Bill through the Committee without an objection or a dissentient voice. . . . In order to avoid a very inconvenient discussion, which I found I

* There had been a previous bill which was so "faulty" that "it was never presented."—*Vide postea*.

† The transposition had reference to the respective positions of the American Church and the Scottish in the bill.

could not otherwise avert, I consented very reluctantly to omit the word 'diocese,' as applied to the Scottish bishops. This, I apprehend, is not material; if you consider it as being so, be so good as to let me know. Some member* objected to the term on *legal* grounds, and the archbishop thought a discussion on the point might be dangerous to the bill. Bishop Russell "feared he was right."

The bill passed the House of Commons on July 7th, 1840. There, Bishop Russell wrote Bishop Skinner (July 22nd, 1840), "he ran some risk of losing the most valuable provision of the bill, 'the Parliamentary acknowledgment' of our episcopate." In proof of this, he sends the bishop a copy of a letter from Sir William Rae, dated from the House of Commons, July 8th, and addressing him as "*Most Rev. Sir.*" After stating that he had sent the bishop a copy of the bill, he adds, "Mr. Fox Maule on the preceding evening threatened opposition on the ground that the bill offered Parliamentary acknowledgment of bishops in Scotland. However," he adds, "he was not present last night, and it certainly does form a great recommendation of the bill that it does contain such an acknowledgment." Bishop Russell goes on to say: "I have reason to believe that Mr. Maule's absence the second evening was intentional. I had written to Lord John Russell and to the Lord Advocate to be gracious to the bill in their House, and I have no doubt that it was in compliance with a hint from his lordship at the head of the colonies that the measure was not pursued."

* Apparently the objector was the famous Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter. In a postscript to his letter (of July 2nd, 1840) to Bishop Skinner, Bishop Russell says, "I believe the objection to the term 'diocese' was made by the Bishop of Exeter—not from an unfriendly feeling, but from an apprehension that it might excite opposition."

The bishops had been anxious to know what expenses had been incurred in passing the bill through Parliament. Bishop Russell, therefore, wrote to inquire of the archbishop, who replied that "the only expenses incurred in passing public bills through Parliament is occasioned by having recourse to professional men to draw the clauses. In the present case," he added, "I had the gratuitous assistance of Dr. Nicholl, my vicar-general, so there is no bill of costs."

In concluding this letter (July 22nd, 1840), Bishop Russell states that the bill had been to him "a subject of great anxiety and labour." There had been "three editions of it." The first was very faulty, and seemed meant for America rather than Scotland: it was never presented.

"The fruits of the bill," he thought, "would be gradually matured." It would "put an end to schism."

CHAPTER III.

ESTABLISHMENT OF TRINITY COLLEGE, GLENALMOND—BUSINESS CONNECTED THEREWITH—PROCEEDS TO OXFORD (OCTOBER, 1841) TO RECEIVE THE DIPLOMA DEGREE OF D.C.L.—LETTERS ON THE OCCASION—AT OXFORD AGAIN ATTENDING COMMEMORATION—OBTAINS DOCUMENTS TO ELUCIDATE THE SNELL EXHIBITION CASE—OFFICIATES IN WOOTON CHURCH—AT OXFORD A THIRD TIME IN JUNE, 1843—PREACHING “THE RAMSDEN SERMON”—PREACHES SEVERAL TIMES IN LONDON—ONCE FOR CHURCH SOCIETY, REALISING AN OFFERTORY OF £240—SELECTION OF SITE AND COLLECTION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR TRINITY COLLEGE.

DURING the early period of his episcopate, apart from his own ability and activity, a variety of circumstances combined to, in a manner, force Bishop Russell into a position of unsought prominence. To the public eye he represented the Church in England, and at home he did much of the work of the Primus. For the first three years (1838-41) the then Primus (Bishop Walker) was unfitted by the state of his health for the discharge of the heavier duties of the office, and naturally he sought help from his near neighbour and former dean at Leith. Then Bishop Skinner, who succeeded Bishop Walker, lived in Aberdeen, far from the centre of Church activity. There was much business continually going on there, on which the two Edinburgh bishops were called upon for advice and guidance, and Bishop Russell, as the senior and the former chief medium of communication between the north and the south, usually had the bulk of the

correspondence assigned to him. "Write to the Primus," is Bishop Terrot's instruction to him when a difficulty arises. Not a few difficulties arose, for it was a period of movement. No sooner was the Relief Bill through Parliament than a project was started for the establishment of a Church college. Originally this was meant chiefly, if not entirely, for the education of candidates for holy orders; but its scope was speedily extended, and, in the carrying out of the scheme, not a few difficult questions emerged, such as that of the proper site for the college. There was an influential College Committee which met in Edinburgh, the deliberations of which made frequent demands on the time and attention of Bishop Russell and Bishop Terrot, who were always at hand. To Bishop Russell was entrusted the drawing up of the official documents issued by the College of Bishops in regard to the scheme. At length, on September 2nd, 1841, the bishops in synod assembled issued a "synodal letter" to all faithful members of the "Reformed Catholic Church," formally approving and recommending the proposed college. In the very next month (October, 1841) Bishop Russell proceeded to Oxford to receive "the diploma degree of D.C.L." A few extracts from his letters of the period supply an interesting glimpse into his mind while these important public and private matters were in progress. Writing to Primus Skinner (Leith, August 4th, 1841) he says, "Have you heard that the University of Oxford has resolved to confer on me a diploma degree of D.C.L.? They meant to give me an honorary degree, but finding that they could not, without violating certain rules, give a degree in laws to a *clergyman of the Established Church*, they have resolved to apply to Convocation for a diploma degree."

Again, to the same colleague (Leith, 23rd October, 1841): "I start on Monday evening for the south. I hope to reach Oxford on Wednesday morning. As Thursday, 28th, is St. Simon's and St. Jude's [Day], the doctoring will not take place till Friday. As the thing is kindly meant I must take it in good part; but I should have been better pleased had the bigwigs thought of some other way of showing their kindness to our Communion. I am not vain enough to consider it as personal, but that I have been selected as the scapegoat to bear the load for the others—that is, to pay £100."

The cause of this great expense was that he was, *per saltum*, as it were, admitted to all the privileges of the University, and all the grades of distinction up to D.C.L. "This day at twelve," he wrote Bishop Low (Oxford, 29th October, 1841), "I go to St. John's, where I am to be admitted a member of that *College*; in short I am to be put on the books as if I had graduated there as an M.A. The next step is to be matriculated in the University, which is also to be taken to-day; and to-morrow comes the *doctoring* in Convocation."

Before the *doctoring*, he tells Bishop Skinner, "I was made Bachelor of Laws, and finally invested with the regency or power of sitting in Convocation—all of which required money."

"My composition at St. John's College was £19, which with £6, 3s. for college dues, 'use of plate, &c.,' amounted to £25, 3s. The whole affair cost me more than £90, besides the expense of the journey."

"The Laudian Professor of Arabic was his guide in all his proceedings" on this occasion, and everything was done to make the visit pleasant to him, except in the matter of the "little bill," some of the items of which

were, doubtless, time-honoured abuses. The bishop, however, was a liberal man in the matter of money, as is witnessed by his contributions to the Church, especially in his own diocese. He did not really grudge the *onus* of the *honos*.

Six months after receiving his degree, Bishop Russell was back at Oxford attending the Commemoration, and doing a stroke of business for the Church. He wrote to Bishop Skinner (Leith, March 24, 1842): "I do meditate a journey into England about the end of May, so as to be present at the Commemoration. It is probable, too, that I shall have some message from the Episcopal College as to our Balliol exhibitions. You are aware that when in Oxford I obtained the consent of the Master, Dr. Jenkyns, to have copies taken of the several decrees of Chancery for the use of Lord Medwyn, who is endeavouring to recover for us the full benefit of Snell's bequest." Lord Medwyn, after seeing the decrees, assured the bishop that "they had not invalidated our claims"—so the bishop adds, "I gained more than I expected when I induced little Jenkyns to allow copies to be taken of the five decrees, which, we were told, had annihilated our claims."

At Oxford on this occasion, the bishop and his daughter were the guests of the Vice-Chancellor during great part of Commemoration week. "We were in such a bustle," he writes to Bishop Low (Leith, June 28, 1842), "that every man was occupied, and, having Jane with me, my time was fully taken up in sightseeing, dining, and breakfasting. We were both in the house of the Vice-Chancellor from Monday till Friday, where we received much kindness. You know we were involved in the Hampden discussion, but though I attended the Convocation, and occupied a stall among the great men of the

earth, bishops and nobles, I gave no vote. The Vice-Chancellor approved my abstinence as being at once dignified and prudent; but as I walked out at the division with the Bishop of Exeter, it was stated in the newspapers that I joined him in voting against Hampden. This mis-statement was corrected in the *Times* on the following day by an authority—that, namely, of the Vice-Chancellor.” He adds: “On Sunday, 19th, I did duty in Wooton Church, near Canterbury, having received permission from the archbishop to officiate *in all the churches in his diocese*, without restriction of time or place. There were three clergymen present, all delighted to see a Scotch bishop preside at the altar.”

The bishop was at Oxford again in June, 1843, having been asked to preach “the Ramsden sermon.” The opportunity was taken advantage of to get him to preach other two sermons of a like nature. “The London Committee of the Church Society,” he writes to Bishop Low (May 29th, 1843), “hearing that I am to be in the south, have arranged that I shall preach in the great city on the 25th June, on behalf of the said society. The Dean of Chichester has consented to surrender his pulpit to me on the morning of that day. His church [All Souls] is in Langham Place, near the Regent’s Park.” The Radcliffe sermon, notwithstanding certain unfavourable circumstances, brought “the sum usually received on such an occasion.” For the Church Society he says, “I got a collection of £260—one person giving a £200 note.” The bishop also preached “in a church in Marylebone for the national schools.”

On all these occasions the bishop was treated as if he had been a prelate of the English Church. At Oxford “The Vice-Chancellor informed me that I officiate *as a*

bishop, not simply as a member of the University," and "on the Commemoration day I walked in episcopal robes to the house of Convocation, and was seated next the noblemen, exactly as if I had belonged to the Establishment. In short your poor brother met with all the respect *you* could have wished for him, and both in London and Oxford I preached in episcopal robes—the first time Scotch lawn had appeared (some one said to me) in either place since the Revolution" (Letter to Bishop Low, June 27, 1843).*

The bishop justly regarded these appearances of his "in the high places of the south" as "illustrating the effect of" the Relief Act lately obtained through his exertions. By that Act, he said, "we at least gained the establishment of a principle, and in our case principle is everything—the practice will come afterwards."

When Bishop Russell was appointed to go to England as a representative of the Church to aid in preparing a Relief Bill, Bishop Low said, "His gentle amiable manners and high literary attainments did us much honour."† Bishop Low's biographer substantially repeats and emphasises the statement, when referring to these later appearances in the south: "The literary character as well as the ecclesiastical qualifications of Bishop Russell are well known; and it is not surprising that his official appearances in England, combining as he did high scholarship with most gentlemanly manners, should have secured him much personal esteem, and should have also conciliated increased respect for the Church of which he was so distinguished a member."‡

The bishop published his sermon for the Church Society delivered in All Souls', Langham Place, and dedi-

* Blatch's *Life of Bishop Low*, p. 241. † *Ibid.*, p. 223. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 242-43.

cated it to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Primate, in acknowledging receipt, and referring to the Act of 1840 as having "removed all doubts of the full and entire communion of the Scottish Episcopal Church with her sister in England," speaks of the sermon "as a specimen of the soundness of doctrine, the devotional eloquence, and the genuine charity, which are to be found among the rulers of that Church."

TRINITY COLLEGE, GLENALMOND.

The bishops and "the Standing Committee" of the projected college had some very important and interesting questions to solve, which some Churchmen of the present day may wish they had solved differently, such as the site of the college. They had offers of sites in very eligible places. Bishop Russell wrote to the Primus (March 24, 1842) that "at a meeting of the committee two days ago, a sub-committee was appointed to take into consideration the several offers of ground as a site for a proposed college, more especially those made by Sir William Stewart of Grandtully and Mr. Stirling of Kippendavie. The land offered by the former is about two miles from Dunkeld—a beautiful place certainly—but it is out of the way—far from coal, and near a village projected by Sir William. . . . Mr. Stirling offers us twenty acres, free for ever, about a mile-and-a-half from Dunblane—being about six miles from Stirling. This locality has the advantage of being on the great lines of rail from Edinburgh and Glasgow towards the Highlands and the north of Scotland, in a cheap neighbourhood, not far from coal, and now by the railway and steamer not much more than three or four hours from Glasgow and the metropolis. But the

sub-committee are to visit both, and some others expected in the neighbourhood of Perth, and to report."

Subscriptions came in pretty freely to the funds of the projected college. Bishop Russell and others of the bishops were very forward to subscribe, but delicacy restrained them from putting down 'their names till they had consulted their brethren, and come to some agreement as to the sum to be subscribed by each. Bishop Russell was on this occasion also the medium of communication between the north and the south, and conducted the negotiations with his usual courtesy and success. On December 16th, 1841, he wrote as follows to Primus Skinner:—"My dear Primus,—Agreeably to your request, I have written to Peterhead and Brechin [to Bishops Torry and Moir] relative to the subscription, desiring the two bishops to direct their reply to you. I have also communicated with our brother of Edinburgh [Bishop Terrot], who says he will do as others do. Hence I can see that the decision will be ultimately thrown upon you, however reluctant you may be to judge for others.

"To assist you I will give you my notions, which, of course, are quite confidential, and meant for no other eye or ear. About six weeks ago I said privately to Ramsay, at one of our meetings in Hill Street, that it would have an excellent effect if the bishops were to set down their names for £100 each. To this he most cordially agreed, but expressed some doubt as to the conveniency of it to some of us. No more passed till last meeting, two days ago, when Bishop Terrot remarked that it was time that the bishops should appear on the subscription list; upon which I said, 'Well, put down your name for £100, and I will join you.' With his usual readiness and good sense, he exclaimed, 'No, I

will do no such thing; we have always described ourselves as poor men, and in the eye of the public we appear *quid* bishops as poor men, then why should we take a step that would seem to belie our declarations?' In reply, I said something about the convenience of *annual* payments, and remarked that though it might be inconvenient to most of us to pay at once £100, we could manage to pay £20 in five years. He said, 'Write to the Primus,' and to the Primus I do write."

"Now," the bishop continues, "instead of £100, I should suggest £50, to be paid in five different portions, an arrangement which would probably prove more *light-some* to our purses than £25 paid at once. I merely suggest this for your consideration, but, at all events, we must all give the same, so far as the list is concerned."

The subscription list shows that this recommendation of the bishop was, as far as circumstances permitted, adopted by his colleagues. As was very natural, Bishop Skinner, being Primus, put down his name for 100 guineas (securing a nomination); but the three southern bishops, though their circumstances differed very widely, all appeared on the list as subscribers of £50 each. Bishop Low had, however, already subscribed £1000, and he afterwards gave £800 more. Very probably the other two southern prelates also gave more than the £50. The remaining two (northern) bishops gave ungrudgingly according to their means.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTRIBUTES IN HIS EARLY DAYS AT LEITH TO MANY PERIODICALS — EDITS "SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL REVIEW AND MAGAZINE"—WRITES "THE CONNEXION OF SACRED AND PROFANE LITERATURE," IN THREE VOLUMES—TWO PUBLISHED IN 1827, THE THIRD IN 1837—WORK UNFORTUNATE IN THE TIME OF ITS ISSUE—BACKWARD STATE OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM AT THE PERIOD—THE AUTHOR IN ADVANCE OF HIS AGE—HIS CONCLUSIONS ON CERTAIN ABSTRUSE POINTS.

ALTHOUGH, as far as time and opportunity permitted, a good and popular administrator, it is not as an administrator that Bishop Russell will be remembered in the Church, but as a learned and literary prelate. By nature and early habit he was a student, and living so long at Leith he had every encouragement and facility for the prosecution of literature. Lord Cockburn speaks of the Edinburgh of those days as a "little place where literature sticks out." Publication in every form might be said to be the leading industry of the modern Athens. Books singly and in serials and periodicals of all descriptions were continually issuing from the press. A youthful aspirant could have no difficulty in finding an opportunity for trying his "'prentice hand" on such literary work as he was qualified for. At an early period of his residence in Leith, Mr. Russell began to contribute to a number of periodicals, including one encyclopædia—the *Metropolitan*—for which he wrote "many articles." For some time he himself edited one review, *The Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine*.

The writer has made no attempt to track the bishop through all those periodicals, not believing in the possibility of success in such a quest at this distance of time. He has before him, however, some volumes of the *Review and Magazine*. It was a quarterly published in Edinburgh, and originally entitled *The Literary and Statistical Magazine*. The thirteenth and following numbers appeared under this title in February, 1820, as did also the remaining numbers for that year. But the work was in process of conversion, and the volume for 1820 has "The Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine" on the title-page. The following numbers drop the old title, but it cannot be said they ever harmonise much with the new. There is little in the work that is distinctively either Scottish or Episcopal. The theology is that of the moderate High English party, and there is less reference to the Scottish Episcopal Church than is to be found in any English ecclesiastical magazine of the present day.

Even those contributors who first or last—nay, both first and last—had the closest connection with the "Episcopal Church in Scotland" seem to make themselves strangers to their own flesh, and write or designate themselves as if "spectators *ab extra*." One of the longest and most interesting communications—a series of letters from Rome (commencing in the Feb. No. for 1820)—was from the pen of the Rev. James Walker, of St. Peter's, Edinburgh, a native of Fraserburgh, but in English orders. The series is introduced in a note by the editor as being "from a clergyman of the Church of England, who resided a considerable time in Italy," and there is nothing in the letters to indicate that the writer had any connection whatever with Scotland

or the Scottish Episcopal Church. Judging, indeed, from the contents of this publication, one might say with truth that there was more ground at this time than there was ten years before for Bishop Skinner's charge that there was a party amongst the clergy who affected to regard themselves as merely "clergymen of the Church of England." It was, in truth, only in a negative sense that the "Review and Magazine" could be termed an organ of the "Scottish Episcopal Church." It admitted nothing that was directly opposed to the principles or claims of that Church, and it was open to communications from its members. Thus far it was favourable. Notwithstanding this negative or neutral sense, it was a very creditable organ. It discussed questions of importance on a variety of subjects with learning and literary talent of no mean order, especially such theological and biblical questions as formed the chief subject of Mr. Russell's study and research for the next twenty years.

It was while editing this review that Mr. Russell began the composition of his great work, *The Connexion of Sacred and Profane Literature, &c.*

The nature of this work has been sometimes misunderstood and misrepresented. It has been spoken of as a continuation of Prideaux's great work on the connection of Old and New Testament history. This, of course, it could not be—Prideaux's work could not be continued; it was complete in itself, "connecting as it did two historical points by filling up the gap betwixt them," viz., the conclusion of the Old Testament history and the commencement of that of the New. Mr. Russell's work was a continuation of the less known work of Dr. Shuckford, which was not a continuation, but a sort of prelude or

introduction to that of Prideaux. The subject of Dr. Shuckford's work, which he did not live to complete, was the sacred and profane history of the world connected from the Creation till the conclusion of the Old Testament history—the point at which Prideaux took it up. The word *connexion*, as Mr. Russell observes in his preface, has a very different meaning in Shuckford's work—and also in his own—from that which it bears in Prideaux's work. "It is not the connexion of two points in the same history, but the connexion and comparison of two different histories of the progress of events—the sacred history and the profane." Dr. Shuckford lived only to carry the narrative down to the time of Joshua. There remained unchronicled 800 very important years—years in which the people of God were continually coming more and more into contact and collision with great neighbouring peoples who have a history—whose annals have been preserved in some cases with great precision and minuteness.

Shuckford's was a work which Mr. Russell was peculiarly fitted to continue, from his biblical learning and scholarly tastes and acquirements; and apparently he was to some extent moved to undertake the task by observing that the incomplete work was continually being advertised as if it was complete. The history was advertised as extending from the creation of the world to the time of Ahaz—in fact, it was advertised as it was projected, not as it was accomplished.

Shuckford's part of the work occupied three volumes; Mr. Russell's continuation extended to the same number. The first two volumes were published in 1827,* and were

* *A Connexion of Sacred and Profane History from the death of Joshua to the decline of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.* By the Rev. Michael Russell, LL.D., Episcopal minister, Leith—London, Rivington, 1827.

dedicated to Bishop Gleig, the author's early patron and father in the faith. They carried the narrative on to the time of the kings. The author expected at the time that other two volumes would be necessary to bring the work to a conclusion, but one was found sufficient. The third volume did not appear till 1837. The author states in his preface that its publication had been deferred "chiefly from a desire to profit by the labours of Egyptian antiquaries, and more especially by the discoveries expected to arise from the state of hieroglyphical inscriptions." From this source, however, he had found that no help was yet to be had.* "The hopes of the learned on this head had been disappointed."

The author sums up the results of the combined labours of Prideaux, Shuckford, and himself as the production of a series of works "in which are set forth not only the most remarkable events which befell the people of God, but also an account of the origin, constitution, learning, commerce, and polity of all the distinguished nations of antiquity" (vol. iii. p. 6). Mr. Russell's work will bear comparison with those of his two eminent collaborators. It is not, perhaps, too much to say that it registers the highest water-mark of English scholarship on the subject not only at the date of its publication, but till considerably past the middle of the present century.

No one can properly appreciate this work who does not bear carefully in mind the history of biblical criticism in this country during the present century. For

* It came in course of time. The Apis tablets, for example (made known to the English public in 1858), fix the date of the reign of Tirhakah who connects with Hezekiah (2 Kings xix. 9, Isaiah xxxvii. 9). While this work is in the press, intelligence comes of some yet more striking and more interesting discoveries at Tell-el-Amarna. These throw light on Melchizedek and the Jerusalem of early times.

two reasons this most important and interesting science, while prosecuted with profound learning and research in Germany, was in this country, till about 1868, all but wholly neglected. The first reason was that the German critics, like the first French Revolutionists, ran into wild excesses—a regrettable fact which for fifty years discredited their work, and raised an insuperable barrier of prejudice against any attempt to correct the traditional style of interpretation or to harmonise Scripture and advancing science.

The second reason was that, in both ends of the island the leading parties in both Churches were engaged in a death-grapple with one another over the meaning of their own formularies—not so much the Word of God as the word of the seventeenth-century man! Not till those fierce controversies began to flag was it possible for a biblical critic to gain the ear of the Church.

It so happened, however, that when this did take place, a great impulse from without was given to the whole subject of biblical learning and research. This was due partly to the wonderful discoveries in the ruins of ancient Assyrian cities—the digging up of first-hand records of contemporary Assyrian and Scripture history engraven on stones and bricks—in languages which, though dead and forgotten, were yet interpretable; and partly to the eventual inrush of the German criticism, so long practically dammed out. The result was such an impetus to biblical studies generally and such a progress in biblical criticism as soon rendered obsolete most, if not indeed all previous English works on the subject.

Dr. Russell was in fact, if one may so say, *infelix opportunitate operis*, writing as he did on the eve of the discovery of valuable materials for his work, and publishing

when men's minds were preoccupied with other subjects. One has only to look into his books to see at what a disadvantage he worked through not knowing of these Assyrian records. In several passages he observes that some historians had expressed grave doubts as to whether there ever was an empire of Assyria! What a pleasure to him would it not have been to have been able to confront such doubters with the incontrovertible Ninevite inscriptions—especially those which bear on the history of God's ancient people, such as the black obelisk of Nimroud, and the tablets of Tiglath-pileser II.!

Or again, in writing as he did at great length on the Chinese learning and literature, how great a pleasure would it have been to him to be able to point to the recently unearthed inscriptions in the Akkadian language—a language which supplies an apparently trustworthy clue to the origin of both the language and the people of China, explaining the mysteries of the most ancient Chinese classic, the *Shu King*, hitherto a puzzle even to the best native Chinese scholars!

Undoubtedly the great amount of light which has been thrown upon the Scriptures, especially those of the Old Testament, within the last thirty years would have been of great interest and assistance to Dr. Russell in the composition of his work. Some, indeed, of the most vexed biblical problems, such as those relating to the age, composition, and authorship of the earlier books, would not, however solved, have very greatly affected the decision of the leading questions which the plan of his work led him to discuss, viz., the comparative degree of knowledge which was possessed by the Jews on the one hand, and by the Gentile nations on the other, of the great elementary truths of religion—such as the unity

of God, the immortality of the soul, the life to come, the middle state, the existence of Satan, and the true character of the idolatry which was practised by both the Jews and the Gentiles. The intimation of these great truths in the earlier history are veiled and obscure. It is only in the later books, whose date and authorship are less critically important, that they are gradually unfolded with increasing clearness. Thus Dr. Russell's conclusions did not differ greatly from those of sound and sober-minded critics of the present day. It was his misfortune to be in criticism in advance of his age.

In this work Dr. Russell took great care to distinguish between the different books of the Bible and the different eras of Revelation—showing how in each age, especially in the earlier, the pure Word of God was liable to be misunderstood and misrepresented by the fallible men to whom it was communicated, and how apt they were to debase and corrupt it, associating the purest truths of Revelation with the corrupt notions of their idolatrous neighbours.

The writer subjoins a few of Dr. Russell's conclusions on abstruse points. His argument required him sometimes to correct inaccurate renderings of Hebrew words—such, for instance, as Asherah and Sheol. The right rendering of the latter word has an important bearing on the question whether the Jews had or had not the knowledge of “a middle state.”

The doctrine of the future life as developed amongst the Jews of later times, Dr. Russell compared with that of the Egyptians and the Greeks. Both of these nations associated the doctrine more or less closely with a belief in the metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls. So also did the Pharisees of our Lord's time.

As to the unity and, in fact, the true and supreme character of Jehovah, Dr. Russell draws attention to the narrow and inadequate "notions" which the mass of the Israelites of early times entertained on the subject. "I know not," he says, "whether it has been remarked that, in the Hebrew writings, a distinction may be traced between the notions entertained of Jehovah when worshipped as the God of the whole earth, and when viewed merely as the patron and protector of the children of Israel, or the tutelary God of the Hebrews."* The point thus lightly touched has been much discussed by recent critics; but there seems little reason to doubt that, till the Captivity, in spite of the teaching of their leaders, the great body of the people seldom if ever raised their conception of Jehovah beyond that of their "tutelary God"; and this low, unworthy view had much to do with their inveterate addiction to idolatry.

The whole subject of idolatry as practised by both Jews and Gentiles is discussed with great learning and thoroughness by Dr. Russell. The subject is one which has been much discussed by recent critics; but on the whole, the bishop's conclusions do not differ materially from those of the ablest present-day critics. He proves that neither the idolatry of the Israelites nor that of their pagan neighbours was so gross as is generally supposed. The Israelites worshipped the true God through the golden calves, and they never put Baal and Ashteroth on a level with Jehovah. In name the Eastern pagan gods were many, in number few—in reality only two. "However numerous may be the number of the divinities . . . they are all reducible to the different forms of the generative energy, the active and the passive, the male and the

* Vol. i., p. 247.

female." Baal and Ashteroth were the commonest names of these divinities as known to the Hebrews, and they represented originally, no doubt, the sun and the moon or the evening star. But the names were nothing—Baal and Baalim were applied to Jehovah Himself.

Before their captivity in Babylon, the Hebrews had no idea of the existence of Satan or any great power continually working for evil in antagonism with God. On the contrary, all their records imply that evil as well as good came direct from the hands of God. Even evil spirits acted under His direction and control for some special purpose—as, for example, "the lying spirit" that "stood before Jehovah," and then, by permission, "went forth" to persuade Ahab to go up to Ramoth-Gilead.

The "dual principle," or the Zoroastrian doctrine of the two great antagonistic powers of good and evil, differed materially from the Scripture doctrine of Jehovah, the beneficent power counteracted by Satan. But there can be no doubt that the Hebrews came to acquire their knowledge of Satan during their captivity in Babylon, when they must have mixed with Zoroastrians or holders of the "dual principle." Dr. Russell quotes Warburton's view that God communicated to His people at this time a knowledge of the existence of Satan, in order "to counteract in their minds incorrect views of the Divine Sovereignty," into which they were in danger of falling whilst associating with a people who held the two principles. This view Dr. Russell neither accepts nor rejects; but he very decidedly rejects Warburton's assumption that the Satan of Job is the Satan of the New Testament.* The devil would never have been admitted into such

* Warburton, "finding Satan on the scene," and assuming him to be "the prince of devils," infers that the book of Job was written after the captivity.

company as "the sons of God." "No writer who believed in the two principles to the extent which the Jews did after their return to their native land, would have introduced the prince of the devils into the presence of Jehovah.* Dr. Russell does not find any distinct notice of Satan till Apocryphal times.

On the subject of the Trinity, after citing many "facts and reasonings" from Jewish and Greek writers, especially Philo and the Platonists, Dr. Russell comes to the sound conclusion "that, until Christianity was established in the world by the ministry of the Apostles, neither Jews nor heathens, though both of them entertained notions about a plurality in the Divine nature, possessed accurate views in respect to the doctrine of the Trinity." †

* Vol. i., p. 264.

† *Ibid.*, 297.

CHAPTER V.

HIS GREAT LITERARY ACTIVITY FROM 1827 TO 1837—VOLUME OF SERMONS (1830)—HISTORIES OF PALESTINE, EGYPT, ETC.—CHURCH IN SCOTLAND (2 VOLS.)—ALSO A WORK ON EDUCATION—LORD DUDLEY'S NOTICE OF SAME—HIS CONTROVERSY ON THE INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES—HIS SEVEN RULES OF INTERPRETATION—INCONSISTENT WITH THE PREVALENT THEORY OF INSPIRATION—RULES APPLIED CHIEFLY TO THE INTERPRETATION OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

THE ten years from 1827 to 1837 were by far the most prolific period of Dr. Russell's literary activity. Besides the third volume of his great scholarly work, which involved immense labour and research, he gave to the world, at the rate of one or two volumes a year, a series of historical and descriptive works of a popular character—works not for scholars or theologians so much as for the general reader; works which gave in a clear and lively style an account of peoples and countries renowned in story, but in general little more than mere names to the unscholarly reader.

This series of publications embraced a volume of sermons (1830)—a two-volumed History of the Church in Scotland (London: Rivingtons, 1834)—a volume on Palestine (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, 1831). In the same (Cabinet) series—Ancient and Modern Egypt (1831); and Nubia and Abyssinia (1833)—The Barbary States (1835).

It need hardly be said that the Cabinet Library series—which was augmented by the addition of "Polynesia"

in 1842—was the most popular of all these publications—especially “Palestine,” of which upwards of 10,000 copies were disposed of within little more than a year of its publication, and which has passed through at least four editions—one having been brought out by a London publisher in the year after the author’s death (1849).

Most of the other works of the series are still very readable, after nearly sixty years ; for almost all interest which the reader can feel in most of the countries treated of—Egypt, Barbary, Nubia, and Abyssinia—is centred in the remote past.

No doubt it was a congenial task to Dr. Russell to compile these works, for most of them treat of ecclesiastically classic lands—especially Egypt and Palestine. A less lively, but still a warm interest attaches to Ethiopia, which “stretched out her hands unto God,” and still remains Christian and speaks a Semitic tongue ; and to North Africa, the home of Augustine and Cyprian ; as well as of Rome’s great rival, Carthage. But doubtless the author’s chief purpose in the composition of some of these works was to secure funds to enable him to bring out works of a more strictly professional character, for which there was much less demand. The author did not, however, escape reproach for the practice. A well-known clerical brother in the north said to a friend of the writer : “I suppose Dr. Russell would write a book on any subject whatever if his bookseller asked him, whether he knew anything about the subject or not. He is publishing at present a work on Nubia and Abyssinia. Now, what does *he* know about Nubia and Abyssinia ?” This was a plausible objection, but there was no real force in it. Dr. Russell knew about Nubia and Abyssinia all that books could tell him ; and he could do what the

general reader could not do, namely, examine carefully the numerous books that treated of the subject, gather all the items of information together, sift and condense his materials, and by patient literary labour construct out of them a handy, readable, and instructive volume. He could make the history accessible and attractive to the general reader; and he did so.

The *History of the Church in Scotland* was published in two volumes in Rivingtons' Theological Library (London, 1834). There could be no objection on professional grounds to this work, and it was admitted on all hands to be a very useful and creditable contribution to the history of the Church. It would have been still more so had the author had a perfectly free hand; but he found himself hampered by his publishers' restrictions. He was "limited as to the size" of the work. He exceeded the limit, and was "required by the publishers to withdraw upwards of a hundred pages of the most important matter."* He long looked forward, it is said, to the issue of a new edition of the work in three volumes. But "the night came!"

There were certain of Dr. Russell's publications which excited keen controversy at the time. These were works which advocated certain much needed improvements in teaching and in criticism—the teaching being that of the higher branches of education, and the criticism that of the highest of all subjects—religion and the Bible. It required no small degree of courage to grapple with either of these subjects at that time. The teachers and the critics were wedded to old traditional methods which they regarded as all but sacred and irreformable; and there was no measure to their scorn and denunciation of a

* *The Scottish Magazine* (1848), vol. i., p. 236.

youthful writer who dared to cast doubts on the absolute wisdom and efficacy of the same.

Dr. Russell's effective animadversions on *The Teaching of Greek and Latin, &c.*, in Scotland, are said to have "attracted much attention at the time, and led him into a controversy with the Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh." It was thus that the book was referred to in a letter from Lord Dudley to his friend, Dr. Copleston (afterwards Bishop of Llandaff):—"I have been looking over a book on the state of education in Scotland by a man named Russell, a *meenister* at Leith. Preserving a very quiet, polite, judicial tone, he has made such remarks upon the Scotch mode of teaching Greek and Latin, and upon the University of Edinburgh, as cannot fail to be very unpleasant to some of my learned friends—your adversaries—in that renowned seat of knowledge. You ought to read him, for he mentions you as an authority, along with Cicero and Quintilian." *

In those days, however, it was vain to hope for much improvement in the style of University teaching from extra-mural criticisms, however "quiet, polite, and judicial" the "tone" of them might be. Still less could any reform be looked for in the prevalent style of biblical criticism, however cautiously or reverently reform might be urged upon the Church. Reading and research had brought home to Dr. Russell the clamant need of reform at that time. The plenary or verbal inspiration of the Scriptures was all but universally held.

Dr. Russell saw that such a theory could not be

* Letter from the Earl of Dudley to the Bishop of Llandaff—London: Murray 1840, pp. 3, 4.

maintained in the face of advancing science, and, equally in the interests of the Scriptures and of truth, he urged the duty of recognising the necessary modifications of the theory of inspiration. It was impossible to do this, however—at least in a work intended for popular use—without exciting great alarm and apprehension, and running the risk of a charge of heresy. No general soundness in the faith, no reverence of treatment, no piety or zeal for the truth could avail the critic. Dr. Russell thought himself that he was to blame for the way in which he brought out his views, because they were not only expounded in a work for popular use, but also in a brief compendious form, which did not admit of such full explanations as would have guarded his meaning from misapprehension. It was in the introduction—or some “Preliminary Remarks”—prefixed to the volume of sermons which he published (by request) in 1830. The sermons treated of certain of the most abstruse and most vexed questions of the time. The preacher believed that there could be no hope of agreement on such questions while the existing views of inspiration prevailed. To “mistaken views” on this subject he attributed most of “the difficulties which divide the Christian commonwealth.” In his “Preliminary Remarks,” therefore, he “made a few observations on the object and extent of inspiration,” and laid down seven rules of interpretation. The object of inspiration was to reveal the saving doctrines of the faith to and through the sacred writers. The writers, however, while preserved from error in essential points, were left to expound the doctrines in their own style and with their own illustrations. They were not pens, but penmen.

Briefly, the seven rules of interpretation were the following :—

1. "The supernatural assistance vouchsafed to the inspired writers did not supersede their natural talents and previous acquirements."

2. In interpreting a passage, distinguish between the doctrine taught and the metaphor or allegory by which it is illustrated and enforced.

3. In reading the different parts of the Bible have always "due regard to the state of knowledge and the peculiar opinions, religious and philosophical," of the particular age.

4. Make allowance for ignorance on the part of the sacred writers "on all other subjects beyond the essential doctrines of the Gospel."

5. To "understand the precise import of the epistles place yourselves in the situation of those to whom they were addressed."

6. Do not "associate the tenets of the Christian faith with the dogmas of philosophy" (as, for example, associating the Scripture doctrines of predestination and election with "metaphysical speculations" on free-will and Divine foreknowledge).

7. * "A rule paramount to every other in expounding the sacred writings is never to give countenance to any conclusion which is clearly inconsistent with the revealed attributes of the Almighty. 'In all your sermons and discourses,' said Jeremy Taylor to his clergy, 'speak nothing of God but what is honourable

* This was by far the most important of Dr. Russell's rules. It is one that was much insisted on by Bishop Gleig in his opposition to Calvinistic dogmas. It is only within the last thirty years that the "paramount" importance of this rule has come to be recognised by the intelligent men of all classes and creeds in this country.

and glorious; and impute not to Him such things, the consequences of which a wise and good man will not own.’”

These seven rules Dr. Russell applied to the interpretation of Scripture with all due reverence, but at the same time with rigid logic and strict critical method. His subject led him to deal chiefly with St. Paul's epistles, in which there is special risk of confounding the human element with the Divine. He quoted with approbation the dictum that St. Paul wrote, "*Ex mente Phariseorum.*" "Brought up at the feet of Gamaliel," the apostle was learned in "all the customs and questions—all the interpretations and explanations of the rabbis—and of these latter he made a free use in illustrating and enforcing the doctrines which were revealed to him. Calvinists and Millenarians, he contended, took no heed of this fact, but based their theories equally on the Divine doctrine and the human illustrations of the same, the latter being very easily accommodated to their own theories. They read, in fact, their own theories into the apostle's words, making him "a philosopher according to the views of a particular sect," the resultant doctrinal system being something altogether inconsistent with the apostle's true teaching or the purpose of the all-just and merciful God.

In this conclusion of Dr. Russell's, no doubt, almost all his fellow-Churchmen agreed; but some, even of those who were very friendly to him, did not approve of the reasoning by which he established his conclusion. He ought to have been prepared for such dissent. Not then, nor for thirty years afterwards, could a critic obtain a patient hearing for such a rigidly scientific exposition. It is idle to inquire now whether the author was, as he

himself believed, to blame for not exercising greater care and caution in his "Remarks." No amount of care or caution could have much availed him. His views—which would now be generally regarded as very moderate and sound—ran counter to the accepted inspiration theory of the day. This was enough. At that time few Churchmen—even among the clergy—would ask any question beyond this, far less make any adequate attempt to comprehend or answer the critical argument. It is humiliating—especially in these days of very free criticism—to read the correspondence which passed on the subject at that time. This was one of the many futile attempts to avert revolution by reform.

CHAPTER VI.

TWO OR THREE BISHOPS ALARMED BY DR. RUSSELL'S RULES OF INTERPRETATION—WISH HIM TO MAKE SOME PUBLIC EXPLANATION OF THEM—HE WILLING TO OMIT THE RULES IN A SECOND EDITION, BUT NOT TO MAKE ANY STATEMENT ON THE SUBJECT, AS SUCH A COURSE WOULD PROBABLY BE MISUNDERSTOOD—BUT AT A CONFERENCE WITH THE BISHOPS SUCCEEDS IN REASSURING THEM—HIS SPIRITED AND FORCIBLE REPLIES TO OBJECTIONS—BELIEVES THAT THE ALARM OF CERTAIN PARTIES WAS NOT VERY GENUINE AND DESERVED NO ATTENTION—DECLARES HIS READINESS TO PUBLISH A *NOLO EPISCO-PARI*—BISHOP JOLLY'S KINDLY FEELING FOR HIM.

Two of the northern prelates—Bishops Jolly and Skinner—took the most serious view of Dr. Russell's rules of interpretation, and pressed him very earnestly to make some public explanation of them. Of the two, Bishop Skinner only wrote directly to Dr. Russell. Bishop Jolly corresponded on the subject with Bishops Skinner and Walker. Bishop Low is quoted by Bishop Walker as substantially agreeing with his northern colleagues. But the objections of these prelates were mostly rather vague; and when Dr. Russell pressed for specific statements, he only received what he regarded as very unconvincing objections to his treatment of some rabbinical metaphor or allegory. The two principal southern prelates—Dr. Russell's own bishop, Dr. Walker, and Primus Gleig (respectively the *quondam* editor and the sub-editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*)—took a much less serious view of the matter than their colleagues did. By general

learning and ability, and by long and vigorous exercise of the critical faculty, these two prelates were well qualified to take a just view of the doctor's rules and expositions; and the one, Bishop Walker, in reality objected to nothing in the work beyond the manner of the "language."* The other, the Primus, objected to nothing at all, but, on the contrary, highly approved of everything, especially of the seven rules of interpretation, which he thought "by much the most valuable part of the book."

Dr. Russell was most anxious to meet the wishes of the bishops by some reassuring explanation. Bishop Walker recommended him to issue a second edition of the sermons, omitting the Preliminary Remarks, and substituting for them a note explaining that the omission was due to the liability of the remarks to be misunderstood. Dr. Russell agreed to the first part of the recommendation—the omission of the remarks—but he declined to insert the explanatory note—chiefly, it appears, because he believed that such a note, however expressed, would itself be liable to be "misunderstood," and also misrepresented to his disadvantage. He had, in fact, good cause, he believed, at that time, to avoid any appearance of making a retraction, lest he might appear to be actuated by unworthy motives. He was in all men's mouths as the most popular candidate for the next vacant bishopric; and this fact, he believed, justly or otherwise, had had much to do with the agitation that had been got up against his book. He thought he had proof that a brother Edinburgh presbyter had written an unfavourable

* "That he has expressed himself incautiously, and in terms contrary to the common language of theology, is manifest, and he has, in effect, acknowledged 'incautious expressions and unexplained positions.'"—*Letter of Bishop Walker to Bishop Jolly, July 7th, 1832.*

notice of his views for the *Christian Observer*, and then had the magazine handed about amongst Edinburgh readers to show what people in London thought of him and his opinions. Then the reception which had been given to the written explanations which he had already made had not been such as to encourage him to make more. "I perceive," wrote Bishop Walker (July 7th, 1832), "that the correspondence with Bishop Skinner at length has produced on the doctor's mind some degree of irritation, and the matter now remains in abeyance, to be disputed perhaps *viva voce* in August with Bishop Skinner." In a previous letter to Bishop Jolly (May 18th, 1832), Bishop Walker had stated that "he (Dr. Russell) is to do nothing till August, when there will be a meeting of the Pantonian Trustees, which Bishop Skinner has promised to attend. He will then, he says, go over the passages *seriatim*, to see wherein his errors are supposed to consist, for he protests that he cannot see wherein there is any error, though he is willing to confess that there are rash expressions." No doubt Dr. Russell took the proper course to set himself right with the College and the Church. The bishops were in reality all very friendly to him; and meeting the majority of them or at least of the chief objectors in a body, he could make sure of obtaining a patient hearing—or, so to speak, a fair trial. He could keep objectors to the point, and compel attention to his explanations. The result appears to have been entirely satisfactory. Little, however, is known of the conference beyond the fact that Dr. Russell gave to the bishops explanations and assurances that were held to be satisfactory. Apparently he also expressed to them his intention of publishing a second edition of the sermons, with some explanation as was desiderated. Five

years after, when he was elected to the bishopric of Glasgow, he sent an explanatory letter to each of the three northern bishops. In the letter to Bishop Skinner (Sept. 9th, 1837) he states that he had written to Bishop Jolly and Bishop Torry. He had told them that he "entirely believed in the inspiration of the Old and New Testament in the highest sense ever maintained by the Universal Church"; that he had "unquestionably intended to retract or explain the objectionable passages in a new edition of the discourses; but that, besides being busy with his *Connexion* and other works, he felt a nervous dislike to revive the discussion which had apparently fallen asleep." The book was "withdrawn,"* and was altogether "out of print."

It may interest the reader to see with what force and spirit Dr. Russell defended such of his rules of interpretation as were singled out for special blame. Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Terrot objected to his rule to draw a distinction "between a doctrine and the materials used in illustrating that doctrine." "Does not," says Dr. Russell—(letter to Bishop Skinner, March 17th, 1832)—"every child see the distinction between the doctrine conveyed by our Saviour in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, and the *story* told by Him with the view of impressing that doctrine? Is it to be held as a *Gospel* truth, that the good and the bad after death are within sight and hearing of one another? Must we believe as a literal fact that a certain king made a marriage feast for his son, and when nobody would accept the invitation he filled his table with wretches from the highways and hedges? The doctrine

* How the book was withdrawn does not seem clear. "So completely," he says, "was the book withdrawn (but whether *wasted* or sent abroad I could never learn), that when I wanted a copy for my own use, I could not get it." Probably it was quietly disposed of at home.

is evangelical, but the narrative may have been a fiction. The same observation may be applied to some of the illustrations used by St. Paul—the election of Jacob, and the rejection of Esau ; the figurative import of Abraham's two wives (Hagar being at once Mount Sinai in Arabia and Jerusalem in bondage), and even to his metaphor of the grain (naked when it is sown, and covered with a husk or shell when it is grown up) applied to the Christian resurrection. The doctrine is obvious in all these cases. It makes a part of the Christian system ; but the materials of the parable make no part of the Christian belief."

To the same bishop he wrote more at length (May 19th, 1832). In that letter he proposed the conference with the bishops in August. After apologising for silence, referring to the meeting in August, and suggesting that till then all correspondence should cease, Dr. Russell proceeds: "On that occasion I shall request a conference with you in regard to the unhappy Preliminary Remarks, for I shall probably find it necessary to expand them into a volume ; I should like to know more specially and particularly than I yet know wherein they are supposed to be erroneous. You may think me very obstinate or blind, or both, in this matter, but as I said to Bishop Walker, the right word is a *dunce*, and I shall therefore request to be taught and instructed before I put pen to paper again on the same subject.

"As some apology for this stupidity, let me state that in return to a notice sent to Bishop Gleig that I meant to withdraw the Remarks in a new edition of the volume, and mention generally in the preface my reason for so doing, I received the following observations: 'With respect to your new edition of the Millennium volume, you

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will do what you think proper ; but I have no hesitation to say that in my decided opinion the Preliminary Remarks constitute by much the most valuable part of the work. I could not have supposed that there had been one clergyman in our Church who could have seen anything like heresy in them.' Bishop Walker, again, writes : ' I am satisfied that your principles are essentially correct, and in the main I agree with you in your reasoning ; but there are some unguarded expressions, which I could wish had been omitted.'

"Bishop Low has neither in writing nor in conversation said anything further than that I must be wrong in asserting that *seed does not actually die in the earth*, because our Saviour says that 'unless a grain of wheat die, it abideth alone.' In reply it is enough to remark that our Blessed Lord, in addressing common people used the language of common life ; but I have said, 'I shall yield this point, and admit, if you please, that seed literally does die before it springs, although every farmer's boy in the country should laugh at me.' Seed undergoes a change which *resembles* death, and hence the figure of speech is perfectly justifiable ; but who does not know that the change which the embryo plant exhibits under the influence of heat and moisture is, so far from being death, a passing from suspended animation to the functions of vitality ?

"As to Bishop Jolly, his feelings seem to be more deeply wounded than those of any of his brethren, and for this I am extremely sorry, being unwilling to give pain to any pious mind, whether learned or unlearned. He says : 'Were I to subscribe the sentiments of page 24 only, I should suppose that I was bordering upon the dishonour of the Holy Ghost.' The

passage alluded to is, I admit, not free from objection in the wording, and the subject requires besides a much fuller illustration. But the meaning is innocent, if it be candidly taken, and it is this:—St. Peter remarks that among the things said by St. Paul in reference to the coming of Christ and the Day of Judgment, there were some ‘hard to be understood.’ Now, this difficulty must have arisen from one of two causes—either that the *things* themselves were not familiar to the mind of St. Peter, and were not taught by him to his disciples, or that the manner of stating and illustrating them adopted by his brother apostle had in it something profound or obscure, and therefore was not quite open to ordinary comprehension. The former supposition we cannot admit, because we cannot imagine that two men speaking under the direction of the Divine Spirit would bring forward different things as the truth of the Gospel on the great event alluded to. But as the *fact* must be explained—the fact, I mean, acknowledged by St. Peter, that St. Paul in some things was *hard to be understood*—on some ground or other, I have suggested that it may be explained by supposing that the learned language and figures employed by the latter apostle were not fully comprehended by the unlearned to whose ears they had come. In what way does Bishop Jolly explain the fact alluded to—the hardness of being understood? In what way do you explain it? Many difficulties in the writings of St. Paul have been explained by a reference to the tenets and phraseology of the school in which he was bred—the school of the Pharisees—and I believe that the difficulty alluded to by St. Peter is one which originated in the same source—I mean the *peculiarity of style*. In my mind it is more difficult to understand why

two inspired men should have differed so far in a point of practice as that the one should rebuke the other, and disclose to the whole Christian world that he was in a fault and deserved to be blamed ; or why St. Peter should have been so many years 'an apostle before he understood that the Gospel was to be extended to the Gentiles, than that the one who was unlearned in *human* matters should not perceive the full import of *figures* and *allusions* which were derived from the rabbinical schools. As to the *facts* now mentioned, there can be no difference of opinion amongst us ; they must be admitted, in whatever way we may agree to explain them, and it is to derive benefit from your greater knowledge and learning that I shall ask for a friendly conference when you come to Edinburgh."

Thus far the doctor's defence of his Preliminary Remarks. After disposing of some current but baseless rumours about unfavourable English reviews, he proceeds to notice some attacks that had been made on his other works. One of these had been referred to by Bishop Jolly in a letter to Bishop Skinner, which the latter had quoted in writing to Dr. Russell. The statement in that letter "annoyed" the doctor "more than all the rest," "and," he adds, "I would have written to the good old man at Fraserburgh had I not been aware that you copied for me his letter to you without his knowledge. He says in that epistle : 'His writings have rendered him suspected as unfavourable to the Divine inspiration of the entire Scripture.' This is a heavy charge, and I feel much inclined to ask the venerable bishop, 'Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?' I know not what part of my writings can have given occasion to such an insinuation.

It cannot surely be the *Dissertation on Chronology*, or *The Connexion, &c.*, wherein I take side with the ancient in opposition to the modern Jews? If so, the ablest writers the Church of England has produced during the last century are exposed to the same charge. You know *our* Bible chronology rests on the authority of Ussher and Lloyd, two very learned men, I grant; and yet the former, in order to establish his system, opposes the New Testament so far as to maintain that Abraham, when he departed from Haran, was 120 years old, when the author of the Acts says he was only 75. But almost every writer since the days of the archbishop has questioned the accuracy of the common numbers. Nay, Dr. Benson has proved that Herod, who persecuted the infant Saviour, was dead two years before the son of the Blessed Virgin was born. But did any one ever insinuate that Dr. Benson denied the inspiration of Scripture? Dr. Hales gained great praise and preferment for his chronology; but it seems that I, who merely abridged his reasoning, must be pronounced a sceptic!"

A yet more unfounded attack had been made upon his most popular work, *Palestine*. "An attempt," he goes on, "has been made to confirm this unfavourable impression by a review of my little volume on Palestine. This small work has met with so great approbation that about 10,000 copies have been printed from first to last; and I have seen about sixty critiques on it, all very laudatory. I mention this not from any feeling of vanity, because I know perfectly well the value of such things, and must add that many of them are written by persons who know little of the subject. But at length an article appeared in the *Christian Observer*, evidently written in Edinburgh, because it contains a notice which no person in London

could know or care about. The number of the *Christian Observer* was sedulously handed about, and sent, among others, to the bishop. I told him who I believed to be the author—an evangelical brother who has not always been on visiting terms at Stafford Street.* The bishop said, 'I believe you have guessed right, for he was here to-day, mentioned the article, and asked what I thought of it. I said,' continued the bishop, 'that I never saw a more complete failure in an attempt to get up a case, for the author has nothing to adduce to make good his charge.'"

Referring to the supposed motives of certain objectors, he declares his readiness for the sake of peace to emit a public *nolo episcopari*. "Now, I assure you," he says, "so indifferent am I to any preferment of the kind, that, for the sake of peace, I should be ready to make a formal declaration that I never will accept the office of a bishop. I have no earthly motive to cherish such ambition, and certainly no desire to increase my responsibility in the affairs of the Church."

The conference with the bishops appears to have taken place at the time appointed, and there, so far as appears, the matter was very quietly settled in some way. The only bishops present were Bishops Walker, Skinner, and Low. Bishop Walker, the most learned of the three, had, as has been seen, but little fault to find with the "Rules." In his presence the other two prelates did not probably insist strongly on their objections, or make any effectual attempt to answer Dr. Russell's arguments. Anyhow, the matter was quietly settled, and was soon apparently altogether forgotten. The only subsequent reference to

* Bishop Walker lived in Stafford Street, Edinburgh. The "evangelical brother" was, no doubt, the Rev. Edward Craig.

it the writer has met with is in a letter already referred to of Dr. Russell to Bishop Torrey in the year 1837.

A question of this sort had indeed small chance of receiving much attention in those days. The whole ecclesiastical world was absorbed in other questions. From 1833 till 1844 there was a ten years' conflict going on, on both sides of the Tweed, over the meaning of Church creeds, rubrics, formularies, and seventeenth century settlements. It was not so much God's Word that men disputed about as man's deductions from that Word two or three hundred years before. The close of the ten years brought disruption in Scotland and secessions in England ; but the controversy went on in both ends of the island, for each party, in both countries, strove to make good its claim to be the true representative of the Church. In a somewhat different strain the ten years' controversy continued for twice ten years longer, absorbing men's thoughts and barring out the profound and searching discussions regarding the Scriptures which, all the time, occupied the minds and pens of the great biblical scholars of Germany. Attention to such moderate and reverent attempts as those of Dr. Russell to adjust interpretation to increasing biblical knowledge would have gradually prepared the minds of British divines for the calm consideration of the free and not always reverent criticism of Germany. As it was, they had no preparation whatever. They went on ignoring the arguments in favour of the new views, making no attempt to understand or refute them, but meeting them merely by denial and denunciation, till at last the views burst all barriers and came in like a flood ! Then the unreasoning denouncers were thrown into complete confusion, like an army asleep in its camp, with no sentries or outposts.

To show how much this view dominated the minds even of men of deep learning as well as of fervent piety, one has only to read the letters of Bishop Jolly on the subject. The "good old man at Fraserburgh" had only the most kindly feelings towards Dr. Russell, and he thought it would be a most creditable thing for the excellent doctor to make a retractation, or "a proper explanation." "What a glorious thing would it be for the excellently furnished doctor himself, raising him high in the estimation of all whose esteem is to be regarded; and what is of infinitely higher consideration, how much would it tend to the honour and glory of our Divine Redeemer, whose adorable Name and Word are so dismally traduced and blasphemed by the scoffers of these last days ripening for judgment, would he examine his grounds, and, finding these hollow and dangerous, retrace his steps, and employ his excellent pen and talents, given him by his Lord to that purpose, to expose their futility and falsehood, leading to ruin! What a comfort should his holy mother the Church then have in him, and caress him as one of her dearest sons!" * Again (May 25th, 1832): "Had I opportunity I would talk with good Dr. Russell as I have written of his book—the only one that I can pretend to be acquainted with—with great deference and respect for those great talents and eminent abilities with which he is entrusted. My own judgment is very poor and humbling, as of course growing darker and darker."

Those who most respect and revere the amiable and saintly bishop will be the readiest to acknowledge that it was not by his judgment that the best mode of dealing with nineteenth century scoffers and blasphemers

* Letter to Bishop Skinner, March 1st, 1832; Willson Collection.

could be determined. The scoffers and blasphemers would not read the Holy Book with the same eyes as he did ; they would be more intent on criticism than edification ; they would ask questions such as those that Dr. Russell had answered, and they certainly would not be satisfied with answers less sound—argumentatively and scientifically—than those which the doctor had given. Mere denunciation of them as scoffers and blasphemers “ripening for judgment” would have little terror for them.

CHAPTER VII.

HIS LATER ADMINISTRATION—HIS TACT AND TOLERANCE—WHAT HE THOUGHT OF THE PROPOSAL TO MAKE PRIMUS SKINNER AN ARCHBISHOP—HIS OPINION OF THE SCOTCH OFFICE—PREFERS IT TO THE ENGLISH—PERMITS ITS USE IN THE NEW CHURCH AT JEDBURGH—QUASHES AN AGITATION GOT UP AGAINST IT—HIS HABITS OF CLOSE APPLICATION TO STUDY—EFFECT ON HIS HEALTH—SYMPTOMS OF HEART DISEASE—CONSULTS A LONDON PHYSICIAN—HIS SUDDEN DEATH—BURIAL AND FUNERAL SERMON BY BISHOP TERROT—MONUMENTS TO HIS MEMORY IN ST. JAMES'S, LEITH.

THE unprecedentedly busy and fruitful first half of Bishop Russell's eleven years' episcopate led naturally to a lull in the latter half. The new measures were being diligently and quietly worked. The bishop's letters show, however, that he was busy in the administration of his diocese, and ever, by the exercise of tact and temper, surmounting some fresh difficulty. He also took a lively interest in all ecclesiastical questions that emerged, and sometimes, as in the case of the Scotch Communion Office, he took a Northern rather than a Southern view of a question.

One day he wrote to Bishop Skinner that he had lately met two young men of good family, who were possessed with the idea that in order to forestall the Roman Catholics the Church ought at once to appoint him (Primus Skinner) Archbishop of St. Andrews. The bishop seemed to take the matter as a joke. "I laughed in their faces," he wrote, and then he went

on to say that probably the appointment would be more to the taste of another brother, who lived much nearer St. Andrews. This was a sly but good-natured hit at certain characteristics of the zealous prelate that lived at Pittenweem. In subsequent letters, and after the matter had been taken up by Bishop Terrot, the bishop alludes to the proposal in a more serious strain, but never as if he regarded it as a "question of practical policy." "I say not yet!" is all he says on the last occasion.

Bishop Gleig used to say that he was the only clergyman in the diocese of Edinburgh (which at that time included Glasgow) who used the Scotch Communion Office. The Oxford Movement, however, wrought a change, and when the church at Jedburgh was erected in 1844 a regular request was made to the bishop for permission to use the Scotch Office—a request with which he at once complied. In intimating the fact to Bishop Skinner (May 31st, 1844) he incidentally gives his own view of the Office. "For myself," he says, "I cannot hope to escape the calumny of tongues, for I have just authorised the use of the Scotch Communion Office in the chapel at Jedburgh, on the sole condition that I shall be assured that the majority of the congregation desire it. Of this, I believe, there is no doubt, and assuredly every congregation in our Church has the option of the one or the other. I have never concealed my own preference for the Scottish, but, to confess the truth, I did not expect an application for it from the edge of the Cheviot Hills, and backed by natives of England."

In the same letter he mentions that he had lately quashed an attempt that was being made in his diocese

to get up an agitation for the convocation of a General Synod for the purpose of withdrawing from the Scotch Office its position of primary authority. The letters contain abundant other proofs of the bishop's characteristic qualities—the tact, the tolerance, and generally the *mitis sapientia* by which he conciliated and carried with him men of very different views from his own.

In the latter years of his life it became manifest that the bishop's incessant and severe application to desk work had undermined his constitution. He seems to have gone on for long periods without taking needful rest or exercise. A clergyman who acted as assistant to him in those years told the writer that the bishop took a full meal at dinner only on Sundays and Wednesdays. On the other days he took "only a snatch," or slight refectation, returning immediately to his desk.

Symptoms of an alarming character having manifested themselves, the bishop consulted an eminent London physician, who carefully examined him. In answer, however, to the bishop's questions as to the nature of the disease and the remedies to be applied, the physician gave no immediate reply, saying merely, "Bishop, I will write to you." He did write, but the bishop did not show the letter nor divulge its contents to his family. The inference which his family drew from this reticence was that the case must be serious—one of heart disease, which might suddenly prove fatal. The event only too fully bore out this inference. The bishop was taken to his rest soon and very suddenly. On Sunday, April 2nd, 1848, "he preached in his church at Leith in the morning, and afterwards celebrated the Holy Communion. In the afternoon he said prayers apparently in his usual health. About eleven o'clock he retired to rest, and

soon after getting into bed, he was seized with a fit of coughing, which the remedies used had no effect in stopping, and in a few minutes he breathed his last." Ever active and indefatigable he died in harness! He had well earned his rest. The writer of the notice* adds: "During his episcopate the diocese of Glasgow has nearly doubled its clergy, and he himself has recently mentioned to us that, within his own recollection, the whole Churchmen of that diocese were able to assemble in one upper room in the western metropolis. There are now twenty clergymen in the united diocese (Glasgow and Galloway) and most of them have large and flourishing congregations."

The bishop was buried at Restalrig. The funeral took place on April 11th, and on Sunday, April 16th, Bishop Terrot preached the funeral sermon in St. James's, Leith. A few short extracts from the sermon will suffice to indicate the very high estimate of the bishop's character which had been formed by the preacher, who was an excellent judge of character, and had in this case had the best opportunities for judging:—"It has only been during the last seven years," he said, "during which we have been associated as bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, that I understood fully the merits and the talents of the Bishop of Glasgow, and how thoroughly and how conscientiously he had turned those talents, which had gained him so honourable a place in literature, into the channel which God's providence had now appointed for their exercise." His mild and gentle persuasiveness made him an excellent administrator. He led rather than drove. He "overcame difficulties not so much by exerting the energies of

* *Scottish Magazine and Churchman's Review*, vol i., p. 336; 1848.

his powerful mind in direct opposition, as by bearing and forbearing, yielding everything of personal preference and inclination, but nothing of law and equity—this was his peculiar merit, and the result was his peculiar reward. In the eleven years of his episcopate the number of congregations in the diocese of Glasgow has been doubled.” The preacher added that he was “an able, discreet, and conscientious ruler.” *

The present very handsome church of St. James’s, Leith, though dating from a period long subsequent to the bishop’s pastorate, contains several highly appropriate memorials of him: two stained glass windows by Clayton & Bell, a marble slab with an English inscription, and a brass with a Latin inscription.

The marble slab is on the east wall of the north transept. It is ornamented with a Gothic canopy and bears the arms of Glasgow and Galloway. The following is the inscription upon it:—

TO THE MEMORY OF
MICHAEL RUSSELL, LL.D. AND D.C.L., OXON.,
BISHOP OF GLASGOW,
BORN 12TH OF AUGUST, 1781.
DIED 11TH OF APRIL, 1848.

Erected by the Congregation among whom he laboured for nearly forty years, and who desire thus to record their admiration of his learning and talents, their love of his virtues, and their gratitude for his fruitful and affectionate services in the work of the ministry.

The two stained glass windows are on the north side

* *Scottish Magazine and Churchman’s Review*, p. 344; 1848.

of the chancel, and on the wall between them is the brass with the following inscription:—

In memoriam Michaelis Russell, LL.D., D.C.L., Glasg. et Candid. Cas. Episcopi, necnon hujus Ecclesiæ per XXXVIII annos pastoris, has Fenestras, qui de grege suo supersunt aliique amici posuerunt.

OB. MDCCCXLVIII.

Θνήσκειν μὴ λέγε τίς ἀγαθὸς μόνον κοιμῶνται.

CHAPTER VIII.

HIS PRIVATE LIFE—EXEMPLARY—TOO MUCH OF A STUDENT TO BE AT EASE IN SOCIETY—ILLUSTRATIVE ANECDOTES—REV. MR. JONES—THE TALL ENGLISH CURATE—THE HIGH CHURCH NOBLEMAN—THE POPULAR PREACHER—HIS SIMPLICITY, EASE, AND GOOD-NATURE IN THE FAMILY CIRCLE—HIS ATTENTION TO THE STUDENTS—ANECDOTES—THE OXFORD PROFESSORSHIP OF POETRY—THE LEADER OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT—JOURNALISTIC RAILLERY—OXFORD PUZZLES—DEAN RAMSAY AS A PEACEMAKER—THE COLONEL AT PIERSHILL BARRACKS—THE BISHOP'S CAUSTIC RETORT—HIS SPEECH IN PROPOSING A TOAST AT A CLERICAL DINNER.

BISHOP RUSSELL'S private life was thoroughly consistent with his public character, and highly exemplary. He was most regular and methodical in his habits, and "temperate in all things." Of his private habits in the matter of devotion the writer has no knowledge, and can therefore cite no such interesting particulars as those which lend such a charm to the life of good Bishop Jolly. The bishop was not the man to speak of such things himself, and the tongues that could have spoken of them are silent! But it is in the life that we find the true fruits of piety. Dr. Russell's life was consistent throughout. From first to last—from his appearance as tutor at Stirling in 1805, till the close of his busy career in 1848, as bishop, as pastor, as lecturer, as writer—he bore the same uniformly high character as a consistently pious, courteous, Christian man; mild, gentle, tolerant, and conciliatory. Amongst his surviving

friends in Leith and Edinburgh, "there seems," writes the Rev. Canon Jackson, "a consensus of opinion as to his amiability and unworldliness."* Surely this is a very enviable tribute to character. Few "fruits of the Spirit" are likely to be wanting to the Christian man who is at once amiable and unworldly. In society the bishop's manner appears to have been, in different ways, both in early and in later years rather awkward, and not a true index to his character. Like the late great scholar, Bishop Lightfoot of Durham,† he was apparently too much of a recluse to feel quite at his ease in society. His friends speak as if in early life his manners were marked by ease without polish, and in later life by polish without ease. When a young man he usually "entered a room at two strides." Latterly his movements were stately, precise, and formal.

As a student the writer had very few opportunities of seeing Bishop Russell except in the lecture-room and in his own home circle at Leith, where he was all ease, good-nature, and kindly hospitality. But such opportunities as he had enable him, to some extent, to explain this account of the bishop's later manner. In stature Bishop Russell was rather under the middle height, and he always wore spectacles. Hence, to the writer, he seemed always at a great disadvantage when accosted by a tall person. He threw his head backward, and looked stiff and

* Letter to writer, January 9th, 1890.

† In an obituary notice of Bishop Lightfoot in the *Spectator* it was said that "he was shy and uncouth." An anecdote is told of him which proves that he felt that "his bodily presence was weak." At the consecration of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, a lady who was very anxious to obtain a sight of the great scholar accosted a short and plain gentleman, and, pointing to a tall, fine-looking man on the platform, said, "Please, sir, is that the Bishop of Durham?" "No," was the reply; "the Bishop of Durham is a short, plain man." It was the Bishop of Durham himself who was asked, and who answered, the question!

constrained, as if finding a difficulty in recognising the face of his interlocutor. The writer has a vivid recollection of two or three occasions on which this peculiarity of manner struck him. In the writer's student days the two bishops, Russell and Terrot, lectured at 14 Hill Street. Above the lecture-room was a Church reading-room, which contained Bishop Jolly's books and portrait, and had on its table most of the English Church papers. The room was open to all the Edinburgh clergy of all grades, and also to the students, who generally met there before and after lectures. Here, therefore, might sometimes be seen a mixed company of bishops, priests, deacons, and students; the students looking up with great deference to their elders and superiors, and taking a lively interest in their most ordinary remarks and movements. There was one visitor—a retired English clergyman, Mr. Jones—a somewhat eccentric but highly intelligent, warm-hearted, and popular man, who took a keen interest in all the Church topics of the time, and, by his lively interrogatories, made good play for the students. Sometimes Mr. Jones button-holed an Edinburgh clergyman, and kept him with his back to the wall or book-case for perhaps half-an-hour at a time, and till the two had fully discussed the burning question or questions of the day. The writer has a distinct recollection of one occasion on which this irrepressible conversationalist literally cornered a popular Edinburgh preacher of the evangelical school, afterwards an Irish dignitary. Accosting this gentleman at a corner of the reading-room, Mr. Jones planted his tall figure before him, and began questioning and cross-questioning him as to his views on a number of controversial subjects. The gentleman answered patiently for a long time, beginning his answers each time with the

words "I hold": at length he began to look first to the right hand and then to the left, with the view, as it seemed, to a sudden bolt; but Mr. Jones had his eye upon him, and as his interlocutor moved his eye he moved his foot on that side, and thus kept him in his corner till his curiosity was fully satisfied.

The writer never saw Mr. Jones attempt to corner Bishop Russell; but on two occasions he was witness of a rather persistent questioning to which the bishop was subjected by Edinburgh clergymen, on matters on which he had some hesitation in answering with ease and readiness. On those occasions his manner was such as to convey to a stranger an impression of stiffness and official reserve. One day a tall young Englishman, curate of St. John's, met the bishop at the door of the reading-room, and plied him with a rapid succession of questions on Indian topics of the day (it was soon after the great Afghan disaster), making a very liberal use of Indian and Afghan names, which he pronounced in the Indian or Eastern style. The bishop looked as if taken aback, hesitating at each question to make immediate answer, and peering up through his spectacles at the smiling face of his eager interlocutor; and, when he did answer, making use of roundabout phrases, as if to avoid committing himself to doubtful pronunciations.

On another occasion he was interrogated in an entirely different way by the younger brother of an English peer, who was taking temporary clerical duty in Edinburgh. The manner of this questioner differed entirely from that of the other. He was not rapid and eager and smiling, but slow, deliberate, grave, and deferential, and his questions referred, not to colonial wars, but to home controversies—the burning questions of the day in

fact. Such questions a bishop can never answer save with deliberation, care, and caution, especially when the questioner is a comparative stranger, and the audience is mixed. It may be imagined, therefore, that in this case there was in the bishop's manner of answering an aggravation of hesitancy and seeming shyness. In all such cases the misleading effect was heightened by the quality of the bishop's voice, which was very thin and shrill.

In his own family circle there was hardly a trace of this stiffness of manner. As a host he was simple, natural, and cordial. His conversation was not marked by flow of spirits or play of wit, but it was always genial, courteous, and instructive, and the instruction was occasionally flavoured by a touch of quiet humour. He kept the ball rolling, but, in general, he seemed to prefer listening to talking.

Though only a student at the time, the writer had pretty frequent opportunities of seeing the bishop in his family circle. This privilege was largely due to a happy accident.

The Rev. Alexander Harper (late Dean of Aberdeen), though at that time in deacon's orders, still continued his attendance at the theological classes. The bishop had no curate at the time, and Mr. Harper occasionally assisted him in the Sunday services. One Sunday soon after joining the classes the writer went down to Leith to attend the service at St. James's, and "hear" both the bishop and his youthful assistant. The bishop espied him in church, and as soon as the service was over he despatched Mr. Harper to request him to look into the vestry. There he received him in a very gracious way, and by friendly importunity, in a manner, "compelled" him to go in and partake of the parsonage Sunday dinner.

This was the beginning of a succession of friendly attentions of a like nature, which continued through the whole season. According to the best of his recollection, the writer had the pleasure of dining with the bishop at least six or seven times during the winter of 1841-42—sometimes on Sundays and sometimes on week-days. He has often looked back with pleasure on those quiet homely parties—especially one or two of the earliest of them, at which the burning questions of the time happened to crop up in a natural way, and become the lively, yet unexciting topics of the evening. Oxford formed the main subject of one evening's talk. Miss Russell had been a diligent reader of the newspapers of the day, and she had been moved to indignation by the flippant tone in which she had found Oxford parties and Oxford politics discussed by the "able editors." The Oxford professorship of poetry was vacant at the time, and two or more candidates had been proposed. Of these the Rev. Isaac Williams, author of *The Baptistery*, was one. Except in ecclesiastical circles, the candidates were "all unknown to fame," and the journalist, who apparently assumed that a professor of poetry must be himself a poet, and a poet too of mark—known and read of all intelligent readers—declared his inability to find words to express the astonishment that filled his soul when he first read this list of nobodies—those *nomina obscurorum virorum*. "Campbell," he added, "we know, and Wordsworth we know; but who are these?" Another journalist had referred in a yet more irreverent tone to the name by which the Oxford party was then generally known—the Puseyites. He affected to think that, as Mr. Newman was the master mind of the party, it would be more correct and just to let

him enjoy, or at least share, the honour of giving a name to it. The party should be called the New-maniacs—or the Puseyites, or New Maniacs.

The bishop only smiled a faint, placid smile at these specimens of journalistic raillery at his new University. But happily the subject suggested to him several cognate topics, and he went on to speak of the things that he had seen and heard on the occasion of his recent visits to Oxford.

Two comparatively small matters mentioned by him struck the present writer, probably because of their smallness. These were difficulties of a classical nature which had puzzled the great classical University. One was to put the proper name Goodenough into a Latin form. This, said the bishop, the Oxford men held to be impossible. "Would not a literal translation be a *good enough* rendering?" said a youth of the party. "What! *Satis bonum*?" said the bishop.

The other puzzle was one of a rather more serious and practical character. It was what interpretation should be put upon a clause in the Latin will of a benefactor of the University so as to secure the retention of a valuable bequest. Some one left a large sum of money to build or rebuild a college or hall, with instructions that his name "*et nihil amplius*" should be engraven on a stone in the wall of the building. A clause was added enjoining that, unless all the testator's instructions were strictly complied with, the bequest should be forfeited to the University, and be allocated to certain other specified purposes. It might have been thought that the injunction as to engraving the name of the donor, "and nothing more," was sufficiently plain and unmistakable. Not so thought the University

authorities. To them it seemed that it might be taken to mean either that they should inscribe nothing but the *name* of the donor—or that they should inscribe the name, “*and nothing more*”—*i.e.*, they should add “*et nihil amplius*” to the name. The result was that, after due consultation with their legal advisers, the authorities determined that in the inscription the words “*et nihil amplius*” should be added to the name of the benefactor. And there, said the bishop, they are to be seen and read on the wall to this day.*

One evening the bishop dilated with evident pleasure on the rôle of peacemaker which had been long beneficially played by the genial Dean Ramsay in the Edinburgh diocese and Synod, dwelling particularly on one signal instance.

Some time after Bishop Terrot came to Edinburgh (but before he was bishop), he was in the habit of taking rides into the country with another Edinburgh clergyman—one of a different school—an English clergyman with a Scotch name. On one of those occasions, as the two brethren were re-entering Edinburgh from their pleasant ride, Mr. Terrot was greatly shocked to find himself all unexpectedly charged by his companion with a breach of truth and straightforwardness in regard to some delicate matter that narrowly touched them both. In vain he denied, explained, expostulated, protested; in vain demanded a retractation and apology. It was to no purpose; he could obtain no satisfaction in a matter of this sort. It would have been unseemly for “brother to go to law with brother.” In despair therefore of redress through other means, Mr. Terrot brought the

* The writer has lately endeavoured to discover some confirmation of this story, but as yet he has failed.

matter before the Synod of the diocese. After stating the whole circumstances, and repelling in the most explicit and indignant terms the injurious charge made against him, he asked for advice. "What am I to do? I cannot sit under this imputation." Dr. Russell, who was at the time a member of the Edinburgh Synod, said at first blush it seemed to him as if the matter could not possibly be settled in an amicable way—so distinct was the affirmation on the one side and the denial on the other. Mr. Ramsay, however, proved equal to the occasion. He rose and expressed his great regret at the unfortunate misunderstanding which had arisen between his two brother clergymen. He was sure, from his knowledge of the high character of both, that it had not originated with either the one or the other. He sympathised with both, and he did not doubt that both were now much of his opinion in regard to the matter, and would he believed do whatever was necessary to bring about at once a friendly settlement. He then suggested a form of apology, which the accuser readily adopted, and the accused as readily accepted; and then and there the matter "took end."

As chaplain of Piershill Barracks, Dr. Russell appears to have had some strange experiences—one of which as probably the most characteristic of the military profession he was fond of telling. On one occasion he delivered to the soldiers a sermon on the subject of temperance. The colonel in command was highly pleased with it. Drinking is the soldier's pleasure, and, by consequence, too often the officer's trouble and worry. This officer thought the teaching of the sermon so helpful to him, and so adapted to the needs of his bibulous warriors, that he asked the preacher to deliver

it again at the next service. Dr. Russell complied, but the colonel was not satisfied with two deliveries—he asked for a third. With this request the good-natured preacher also complied, and so delivered at three consecutive services the same sermon, in the same place, and to the same audience. At the close of the last delivery, the colonel clinched his exhortation with military directness and decision—“Now, men, you’ve got your orders; I shall see that you obey them.”

The bishop’s humorous sallies were, as may be supposed, of a very mild and gentle type, but they were not on that account the less effective. The writer remembers one which became for a time a sort of standing retort uncourteous among the students. One day (in Mr. Harper’s presence) some one called the bishop’s attention to a very confident and laboured attack upon him in regard to some recent official act or utterance of his, by a young clergyman more distinguished for zeal than for prudence. The bishop listened patiently to the end, and then said quietly in his shrill voice, “Sandy’s nae a Solomon!”

The writer only once heard the bishop speak at a public meeting. It was on the occasion of a friendly society dinner at Aberdeen, when the toast of “The Ladies” was assigned to him. His speech, as is usually the case on such a topic, was short, but lively and humorous.

He began by saying that he hoped, when he said the subject of his toast was “The Ladies,” he would not be misunderstood. He had been told that when certain of the younger brethren spoke of ladies—especially ladies of a certain age—they were understood to refer to their ecclesiastical superiors. Well, *he* could

not mean anything so personal to himself and his colleagues. It was the fair and gentle sex that was his subject. He then went on to urge the great importance to a clergyman of a helpmeet, not only in domestic matters, but even in his highest professional labours, and he concluded by giving to his toast of "The Ladies" the most comprehensive significance—embracing in its wide scope every lady relative of every member of the society—"Our wives, our daughters, and our sweet-hearts."

That was an occasion on which the bishop, with his full mind, ready speech, and kindly disposition, could say with ease the graceful and becoming thing—something appropriate to the occasion, and not inappropriate to his own character. At the luncheon on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the College chapel, Glenalmond, the bishop had something very appropriate to say—something fresh from the scholarly pen of the new warden, the late Bishop of St. Andrews. How the thing was introduced may be fitly told in the late bishop's own words:— *

"The first time, and I think the only time, I met Bishop Russell was at the laying of the foundation stone (by Sir John Gladstone) of the chapel at Glenalmond, in the autumn of 1846, before the College was opened. There was a public luncheon after the ceremony, at which Primus Skinner presided. The only other bishops present were (I think) Russell and Moir (who died shortly after). In the course of the speeches,

* Letter to writer from Bishop Wordsworth, Rydal Lodge, Ambleside, July 17th, 1890. The bishop promised to send additional materials when he returned home; but his health was weak, his time was occupied by his own reminiscences, and then—"the night came."

Bishop Russell read to the company the following Latin quartette, composed by me ; how he came by it I do not remember :—

“ ‘ Mactus honore novo,* proprio cognomine laetus
Fundamenta domûs, virque lapisque jacit
Quem *Laetus Lapis* ipse jacit, lapis omine laetus.
Stet, stet, in aeternum, mactus honore novo.’

“ ‘ In honour new, for high deserts arrayed,
Gladstone, auspicious name, this basement laid.
Glad stone, laid here by Gladstone’s bounteous hand
Blest still with honours new for ever, ever stand !’

“From this I infer,” adds the bishop, “that Bishop Russell must have had some *sympathy* with Latin scholarship. How far he was himself a scholar, I do not know.”

* Mr. John Gladstone had just been made a baronet.

BISHOP TERROT



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CHAPTER I.

HIS LIFE TILL HE SETTLES IN EDINBURGH, 1817—A MAN GREATER IN CAPACITY THAN IN PERFORMANCE—SKETCH DEVOTED TO THE MAN RATHER THAN TO THE PERIOD—CONTRAST BETWEEN TERROT AND RUSSELL—*MAGIS PARES QUAM SIMILES*—DIFFERING IN TASTES, HABITS, AND MANNERS—ANECDOTES ILLUSTRATING THE EFFECTS OF HIS POWERFUL VOICE AS CONTRASTED WITH HIS WEAKLY BODY—HIS BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND SCHOOLS—ENTERS CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY—HIS REPUTATION FOR SCHOLARSHIP—TAKES HIS DEGREE IN 1812—ELECTED SAME YEAR FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE—TAKES ORDERS, 1813—IN 1814 ACCEPTS THE QUALIFIED LIVING OF HADDINGTON—IN JANUARY, 1815, BRINGS HIS CONGREGATION UNDER THE BISHOP OF EDINBURGH—MARRIES, 1815—GAINS THE SEATONIAN PRIZE (1816)—PROMOTED TO ST. PETER'S.

THREE or four able men have filled the office of Primus, or first bishop, of the Scottish Episcopal Church during the last hundred years. Without doubt one of the ablest was Charles Hughes Terrot, Bishop of Edinburgh (1841-72). But this is a fact which has been but imperfectly realised by the Church at large. Circumstances were unfavourable. Bishop Terrot never gave to the Church or the world at large full proof of his capacity. He was greater than any of his works or acts, and should be judged rather by what he was than by what he did.

He had a strong mind in a weak body, and generally his qualities were marked by striking contrasts.

The present sketch makes no pretensions to fulness or completeness,—especially in the account which it gives of the bishop's later years. The time has not come for a calm and impartial treatment of the latter and more important half of the bishop's administration, that, namely, when he was at the head of the Church (1857-72). The period is recent, and it was very stormy and unsettled, the old order battling with the new. This sketch may contribute some materials to the history of the period, but this is not its main object. It treats of the man rather than the period.

Terrot, though his "bodily presence was weak," had a striking personality. The writer cannot conceive a more effective way of presenting him to the reader than by comparing, or rather contrasting, him with his contemporary brother, Bishop Russell, as he used to do fifty years ago in his own mind when day after day he sat at their feet. Both were able and learned men, but they were *magis pares quam similes*, differing considerably in tastes, habits, and pursuits. In non-professional matters Dr. Russell had a strong predilection for history and metaphysics, and to the study and exposition of these subjects he devoted much time and patient labour, chaining himself to his desk. Very different were the tastes, habits, and methods of Bishop Terrot. He preferred poetry to history, and mathematics to metaphysics. As a student and an author Dr. Russell was regular, systematic, methodical, and plodding; Dr. Terrot comparatively irregular, desultory, unmethodical, moved by momentary impulse, or by chance promptings from without. Russell published much, Terrot little. As

a teacher Terrot seems, like Dr. Johnson, to have preferred the instrumentality of the tongue to that of the pen, and the lively give and take of conversation to the solitary drudgery of the desk. Like most men, he liked best to do that which he could do best. All testimony agrees that as a talker—a sayer of “good things,” acute remarks, witty sayings, and telling retorts,—he was unsurpassed, if not unequalled, in the Edinburgh of his day. But *vox audita perit*—A reputation based on spoken words is fleeting; for in literature a Boswell is probably rarer than a Johnson. Anyhow, Bishop Terrot did much less with his pen than his brother bishop at Leith, and certainly very much less than under favourable conditions he might have done. Probably, if the truth were fully known, the chief of all the unfavourable conditions was simply physical weakness, aggravated at one period by the *res angusta domi*. This, at least, is the opinion of an acute friend of the writer, who saw a good deal of the bishop in his latter days, and was intimately acquainted with a lady friend of his who had known him from his early years.

Physical weakness had much to do with the marked contrasts in the bishop's qualities—especially the very striking contrast between his bodily appearance and the sound of his voice. Any person who might have happened to hear the bishop speak in public without seeing him, was sure to think of him as a man of commanding “presence.” This was the experience of the present writer. On the Sunday morning after arriving in Edinburgh as a student of theology, the writer bent his steps to St. Paul's, York Place, in order to see and hear the chief teacher at whose feet he was to sit. Being, however, an undistinguished “stranger and a youth,” he

was, by the discerning beadle, relegated to a back seat in the gallery, where he could hear, but could not see, the preacher. But the hearing was enough. It was all that could be desired. Every word of every sentence, and clause of sentence, was distinctly heard and driven home; and as the unseen preacher went on rolling forth one telling sentence of sound and wholesome doctrine after another, in clear and masculine tones, the unseeing hearer pictured to himself a preacher—great in every sense—great, in body as well as in mind—a Boanerges—fit to rank with “the giants that were in the earth” in the seventeenth century—in fact, that saying of the third George passed through the writer’s mind at the time. Next day, when the youthful hearer was confronted with the venerated preacher, he was filled with astonishment—the incongruity seemed inexplicable. But the feeling soon wore off. It was impossible to be in the bishop’s presence even for a short time and continue to think of him as, in any sense, little or weak. The mind within him looked through, and in every way gave one complete “assurance of a man.” Even in boyhood it appears that Terrot was marked by these manly characteristics. The writer has before him two substantially identical accounts of an anecdote illustrative of the fact. Young Terrot used, it seems, to spend his school holidays with his uncle, the Rev. William Terrot, clergyman of the qualified chapel at Haddington.* On one occasion when he left his uncle’s house to proceed to school in England, he and his box were put inside the coach late at night, and had it all to themselves for some time. At last, in the dark, a farmer got in and broke his shins on the box,

* From September, 1799, to January, 1806, when he became chaplain of the *Repulse* man-of-war ship.

which, in his rage, he threatened to pitch out. Terrot instantly called out in his clear stentorian voice, "If you touch that box, out you go after it, head foremost!" The farmer growled, but subsided; and, when at last daylight broke, and revealed to him the diminutive proportions of the strong-voiced owner of the offending box, he was struck with amazement: "What!" he cried; "are *you* the valiant youth that threatened to pitch me out? You'll make your mark in the world some day, my little man!"

The words came true, but never as they would have done had the strong mind been mated with a strong body. In Terrot's case, performance never altogether answered to promise: achievement to capacity. It seemed always that there was in him a reserve of power.

Charles Hughes Terrot was born at Cuddalore, in India, September 19th, 1790. His father was Captain Elias Terrot, his mother, Mary Fontaineau. Both his parents were descendants of Huguenots, expelled from France at the revocation of the edict of Nantes; and both their families had apparently continued in Britain the profession which they respectively followed in France—those on the father's side being chiefly soldiers; those on the mother's, silk manufacturers. Charles's grandfather became, in his later years, "Commandant of Berwick-on-Tweed."* His father "served as an ensign in the American war, at the age of fourteen." Charles "never knew a father's care," Captain Terrot having been "killed by a cannon ball at the siege of Bangalore," a short time after he had heard of his son's birth. The captain had only attained the age of twenty-six, and he

* Another account gives a different description of the military office he held at Berwick.

left a widow of nineteen. At the time of her son's birth, and her husband's death, she was living at Cuddalore with her uncle, Colonel Hughes—the kind relative from whom her son derived his middle name. After a little time, however, at the request of her husband's family, she returned to England, and took up her abode at Berwick-on-Tweed. Charles was about two years of age when he was brought to Berwick. He remained there till he reached the age of nine—his teachers in the interval being Mr. Barnes, vicar of the parish, his own mother, and a French emigrant abbé, who played with him, and “taught him conversational French.” When he was nine years old, his mother took him to a school at Carlisle, kept by a Mr. Fawcett—a good though rather severe teacher—with whom he remained till he went to Cambridge. At Cambridge he had as his contemporaries “Robinson, afterwards Archdeacon and Master of the Temple; Townsend, afterwards Prebendary of Durham; Sedgwick,” the well-known professor, and other eminent men. At Cambridge, Terrot acquired a high reputation for ability and scholarship generally, but especially in mathematics—a reputation which he well maintained to the last. But his place in the mathematical tripos fell greatly below expectation. He was not in the first or wrangler's class, but only fourth in the second or senior optime class. This comparative failure is accounted for in substantially the same way by two of the friends of his latter days, who knew well all his tastes, capacities, and deep mathematical speculations, and who have left brief but interesting notices of him—viz., Dean Ramsay and Professor Kelland, of Edinburgh University. “The truth is,” says Dean Ramsay, “that, like many other speculative and reasoning minds, he lacked at that time

the hard, determined, concentrated labour essential to success in the tripos list." "The fact is," says Professor Kelland, "that Terrot's mind revolted at the drudgery of acquiring branches of the science towards which he felt no inclination. It was characteristic of his mind to tread a small circle, and tread it well; but he was constitutionally unfitted for storing away in his memory, for temporary purposes, facts and figures in which he took no special interest, and thus his degree examination resulted in a comparative failure. His position on the honours list was altogether inferior to what his subsequent appearance as a mathematician would have warranted us in anticipating." As will be seen, Professor Kelland, as a fellow-member of the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, had, for a series of years, heard the bishop read papers on the higher mathematics, and knew that he came near the discovery of a new calculus. There could not, therefore, be a better judge of Terrot's mathematical capacity than Kelland.

Terrot's career would probably have been somewhat different had he stood high in the tripos; but no comparative failure in the schools could seriously mar the University reputation of an earnest worker of recognised ability. His own college, or some other college with liberal statutes, would take him up and let him have another chance. "On the fellows of his college," says Professor Kelland, "this want of success made no impression. They had had ample opportunities of judging of his accuracy and his acuteness, and they did not hesitate to elect him into their body the very year that he took his degree." In dwelling on these incidents of Terrot's University career, one inevitably recalls like incidents in the history of certain of Terrot's illustrious

contemporaries, whose academic failures were yet more conspicuous. Terrot's friend, Whewell, of whom it is reported that his examiners said beforehand that they were "only fit to mend his pens," was afterwards only second wrangler and second Smith's prizeman—a Mr. Jacob having "supplanted him these two times." Yet more marvellous was the failure of a greater than Whewell at Oxford eight years afterwards. At the final examination for honours John Henry Newman was by the intelligent examiners placed "under the line"—that is, in the lower division of the second or last class* in classics. In mathematics he was not placed at all! To these men such mishaps were as nothing, or less than nothing, tending only to fix attention on their rare merits, and to suggest to their contemporaries uncomplimentary comparisons between them and their higher-placed competitors. Terrot's case was different; but even for him a University career was still open, and had he cared to devote himself to "research," living chiefly on his fellowship, he might have made important discoveries in some branches of the higher mathematics, probably anticipating Sir William Rowan Hamilton in his discovery of Quaternions. But he had other views; and doubtless he took the wiser course. He took his B.A. degree in 1812. Next year (1813) he entered into holy orders, being ordained on his fellowship by Bishop Mansell of Bristol. The year following (1814) he was raised to the priesthood by Bishop Low of Chester, his title, this time, being an English curacy. He can only have held his English curacy a very short time, for by the 1st of March, 1814, he was in Scotland for life. Wonder has been frequently expressed that Terrot—a

* There were no third or fourth classes in those days at Oxford.

fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, should thus, at the earliest possible period after ordination have abandoned for ever the great field of Anglican usefulness and distinction. No doubt the answer is to be found in the fact that almost coincident with his ordination as priest there occurred a vacancy in the "Qualified" charge at Haddington, which had been held by his kind uncle, William Terrot, for six years (September, 1799, to November, 1805). As has been seen, Charles had occasionally spent his school holidays at Haddington; and the place and the people were doubtless associated in his mind with happy memories. Anyhow he offered himself as a candidate for the vacant charge, and "the managers unanimously made choice of him."

The short minutes bearing on the appointment have an interest for Churchmen of the present day. They show how appointments and inductions were made in the "Qualified" congregations of the time, and they also prove that Charles Terrot did not, like Napoleon III., owe his appointment chiefly to the fact that he was "his uncle's nephew." The first minute on the subject is dated February 23rd, 1814, and runs thus: "On Mr. Jackson's leaving, the treasurer, Mr. Donaldson, was requested to advertise for a successor in the Newcastle newspaper, *The Christian Observer*, and taking such other means of making the vacancy known as he shall see fit. He was to offer a certain salary of £80 a year, and such part of the surplus funds as can be afforded after paying the necessary expenses." Within less than a week the appointment was made and minuted: "March 1st, 1814.—The meeting having resumed consideration of the vacancy in the Episcopal chapel, and Mr. Charles Terrot, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, having

offered himself a candidate, and having preached last Sunday to the general acceptance of the congregation, the managers unanimously make choice of him to supply the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Jackson, he receiving a certain salary of £80, payable quarterly, including the rent of the chapel yard, and such part of the surplus funds as can be afforded after paying the necessary expenses, and giving notice of three months to the managers before leaving.—Signed, Charles Hughes Terrot.”

The signing of the minute by Mr. Terrot was equivalent, not only to his agreement to the proposed terms and acceptance of the appointment, but also to his induction to the charge. Except that the charge was at the time practically congregational—a defect which, as will be seen, the new incumbent remedied in ten months—the appointment was apparently a very good one for the period. The language of the minute is not distinct or precise; but it implies clearly enough that, to a faithful and popular pastor, the gross stipend would be considerably more than “the certain salary of £80.” This inference is placed beyond all doubt by a subsequent minute (of January 4th, 1815), where it is stated that “the managers agree that the subscriptions made for behoof of Mr. Jackson be continued to Mr. Terrot.” These amounted to £44, 2s.

To a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, there was an obvious expedient for eking out the salary, viz., tuition—and for tuition, as his brother bishop, Russell afterwards bore emphatic witness, Terrot had a decided taste and talent. Tuition, therefore, he now added to his other avocations. “During the time he was incumbent of the church at Haddington he was engaged as

tutor, and several of the sons of the county gentlemen received a portion of their education from him."*

His incumbency at Haddington was short, but it was fruitful in events—happy and noteworthy events, ecclesiastical, academic, and domestic. The minutes of the vestry meetings show that he was always on the best of terms with the managers and the people; and that he speedily succeeded in exercising a most beneficial influence on the position of the charge. From the beginning he must have worked for the union of the congregation with the native Church; for within ten months it was an accomplished fact! Haddington became one of the incumbencies of the diocese of Edinburgh, and subject to Bishop Sandford. An important change like this could not have been accomplished all at once by the mere reading of a letter at a vestry meeting. That could have been only the formal sanction and settlement of the matter. Nothing else, however, appears in the minute of January 4th, 1815, which records the agreement: "A letter was laid before the meeting from the Rev. Mr. Terrot, expressing a wish to unite himself with the Scottish bishops, which having been read and considered, the managers are of opinion that the proposed union will be very desirable on various accounts, and therefore approve of the proposal contained in Mr. Terrot's letter." This union was carried out immediately afterwards.†

The fact that Mr. Terrot thus took the first opportunity to put Church matters on a sound footing was doubtless due chiefly to the informal Cambridge "education," which he said he owed to the conversation of

* Letter from Canon Wannop to writer.

† Note by present rector.

Dr. Mill and other able contemporaries. If he was ever held by the narrow evangelical views of his uncle William, he had now burst through them. Everything proves that he was by this time much in sympathy with the Edinburgh clergy of the time, and the moderate High Church views which they professed—views which, with slight modification, he held and taught to the last. Soon after his union with the native Church, Mr. Terrot accomplished another happy union. On July 12th, 1815, he took a step which was doubtless *in votis* when he elected to sit down at Haddington: he married a lady to whom he is said to have been “attached from his boyhood”—viz., Miss Sarah Ingram Wood, daughter of Captain Samuel Wood of Minlands, near Berwick-on-Tweed, a lady of a gentle and amiable disposition. It was a bold step this for a “fellow” without means; marriage involving at that time resignation of the fellowship, and the duty of meeting increased liabilities with diminished receipts. On Mr. Terrot it undoubtedly entailed not a little hard work in tuition, and the loss of valuable time withdrawn from congenial pursuits, also some pressure from the *res angusta domi*. But no trace of such consequences appears in his life at the time. On the contrary, his career was brightened at every stage by some gleam of happy augury. Each of the three years of his Haddington ministry was thus marked by a “white-stone” of success. The year (1816) which followed his union with the Church witnessed his chief University triumph, the gaining of the Seatonian prize, of which more anon. The year following (1817), he was promoted to the charge of St. Peter’s, Edinburgh, being appointed colleague to Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Walker. This translation was probably the real turning

point of his history. It placed him in a sphere where he had scope for his talents, congenial society, and assurance of sympathy and appreciation.

The minute of the Haddington vestry which records Mr. Terrot's resignation of the charge bears emphatic witness to the faithfulness of his ministry. "May 13th, 1817.—A letter from Mr. Terrot was laid before the meeting intimating his acceptance of the living of St. Peter's in Edinburgh, and of his resignation of the Episcopal chapel under their management, which being considered by the meeting, they accepted of Mr. Terrot's resignation, and before taking any steps towards supplying the vacancy request Mr. Terrot to look out for a proper successor. The managers direct the treasurer to express to Mr. Terrot the high opinion which they entertain of the exemplary manner in which he has officiated as minister of the chapel, and the sincere regret which they feel on the occasion of his departure, with their best wishes for his prosperity."

CHAPTER II.

FOR TWELVE YEARS COLLEAGUE OF DR. WALKER IN ST. PETER'S—HAD GENERALLY TO TAKE "THE LABOURING OAR"—BUT WORKED VERY HARMONIOUSLY WITH BOTH COLLEAGUE AND FLOCK—BECOMES SOLE PASTOR IN 1829 ON RESIGNATION OF DR. WALKER—ST. PETER'S THEN "OLD FASHIONED," BOTH BUILDING AND PEOPLE—IN 1833 BECOMES "JUNIOR MINISTER" OF ST. PAUL'S, YORK PLACE, WHERE HIS SALARY WAS REPEATEDLY RAISED TILL 1839—WHEN HE BECAME "SENIOR MINISTER" IT WAS MORE THAN DOUBLED—BECOMES SYNOD CLERK (1836)—"DEAN OF EDINBURGH AND FIFE" (1837)—BISHOP OF EDINBURGH AND PANTONIAN PROFESSOR (1841)—HIS CONGREGATION CO-OPERATE HEARTILY WITH HIM, BOTH IN CONGREGATIONAL AND DIOCESAN WORK—SUPPORTS A MISSIONARY LABOURING AMONGST THE CHURCHMEN OF THE OLD TOWN—MISSIONARY PUT ON A BETTER FOOTING (1852)—IN 1856 A CHURCH BUILT FOR HIM IN THE SCENE OF HIS LABOURS IN THE OLD TOWN—BISHOP OBTAINS AS COLLEAGUE IN ST. PAUL'S THE PRESENT DEAN OF EDINBURGH.

It was probably on account of the delicate state of health of the Rev. James Walker that Mr. Terrot was appointed to St. Peter's. Mr. Walker had lived for several years on the Continent in the beginning of the century. He spent the winter (1817-18) after Mr. Terrot's appointment as his colleague in Rome. When at home he was generally much occupied with diocesan business and literary work. In 1825 he was appointed the first Pantonian professor of theology. In 1829 he resigned the charge of St. Peter's. Next year (February 10), he

was elected Bishop of Edinburgh; and amongst the other names appended to the deed of election is that of "Chas. H. Terrot, A.M., Minister of St. Peter's Chapel." Mr. Terrot thus had the sole charge of St. Peter's from 1829 till 1833. Doubtless he took "the labouring oar" most of the time that he acted as Dr. Walker's colleague. His life must have been a busy one; for in addition to literary work, such as the translation of *Ernestis Institutes*, he had "many pupils, some resident in the house, and others coming at certain hours to read with him." For recreation he "generally went once a year to London to see his friends." In Mr. Terrot's time St. Peter's is described as "an old-fashioned place, with an old-fashioned flock," place and people being both redolent of the eighteenth century. In its exterior the church was exactly like an ordinary dwelling-house, and there were inhabited rooms over it. "In the church there were pictures and galleries on the north, south, and west sides." Amongst the "living stones" of the temple there still lingered in Mr. Terrot's days one staunch old Jacobite, who used to "groan and rise from his seat when the prayer for the King was read." Mr. Terrot is said to have lived and laboured in "much friendship and unison" with his colleague, Dr. Walker, and the vestry. There could be no better proof of the success of his ministry and his standing amongst the Edinburgh clergy than his translation from St. Peter's to St. Paul's, the representative of the famous "Cowgate Chapel." This was a great step in the way of promotion; but, in the matter of salary, its advantages were prospective rather than actual. The congregation had for a time to maintain three clergymen, the venerable Prebendary Alison being still alive. Very soon, however, Mr. Terrot's position was

greatly improved ; and in a few years his salary was more than doubled, so that he could devote his whole attention to his pastoral duties. A few extracts from the minute books of St. Paul's will show how well Mr. Terrot and his people got on together, and how the congregation "grew and prospered." It was on the 17th December, 1833, that the vestry met to "deliberate on the merits of the various candidates for the situation" of junior minister then vacant. "The vestry were unanimously of opinion that the Rev. Charles H. Terrot of St. Peter's Chapel should be elected along with Mr. Sinclair as joint-minister, and they accordingly elect him as one of the ministers of the chapel." His salary was £200 a year, Mr. Sinclair's being £250. The congregation had now two able and zealous "officiating clergymen"; and it so prospered that in less than two years (July 20th, 1835) the vestry "resolved to increase the salaries of each of the two officiating clergymen to £300 a year." To Mr. Terrot this was a very material augmentation, and its moral effect must have been equal to the material, as it put him on a level with his colleague. Three years afterwards (October 25th, 1838), the vestry raised each of their salaries to £350 per annum. Next year (3rd December, 1839), Mr. Terrot was raised to the position of "senior minister of the chapel," with a salary of £500 a year. His colleague, Mr. Sinclair, had been appointed "Secretary to the National Education Society, and Chaplain to the Bishop of London." His resignation made it possible for the vestry to make such an addition to Mr. Terrot's salary as would relieve him from the necessity of taking pupils. The minute of the vestry states that "so large an advance has been at once made to Mr. Terrot's salary, making it higher than any clergyman of the

chapel ever received before with the view of securing his undivided attention to his duties as minister of the chapel. And as it was doubtful if the congregation would always be able to pay the increased salary, the augmentation was "under this proviso," that if "the funds should fall off" "the same" for the "senior minister's salary" "must first suffer abatement."

Mr. Terrot was now in a position to devote his whole time and attention to his professional duties, which were fast increasing. One after another he, within a few years, held all the diocesan offices open to the clergy. In 1836 he became Synod Clerk. In 1837, on the elevation of Dr. Russell, he was appointed "Dean of Edinburgh and Fife." The next two or three years were ecclesiastically very busy years. The General Synod, and the establishment of the Church Society, and the Disabilities Repeal Bill, were all measures of great importance. Dr. Walker, Bishop of Edinburgh, died on March 5th, 1841, and Mr. Terrot was unanimously chosen as his successor, and consecrated at Aberdeen on June 2nd. He was also appointed to the late bishop's office of Pantonian professor of theology—thus the rector of St. Paul's became also a bishop and a professor. In all the three capacities he laboured faithfully, and did good work while health and strength remained to him. But no doubt Dean Ramsay is right in his belief that all along the good man's heart was chiefly in his work at St. Paul's. "I believe," says the Dean, "that up to the time of his being laid aside, he never lost the feeling that his first interest, the chief responsibility—in short, his heart's first impulse was bound up in his pastoral connection with St. Paul's." The Dean adds, "He was in that relation an earnest and faithful preacher of the truth to his congregation, and a

diligent visitor in times of family distress, and he was indefatigable as a catechist of the young. In a sick-room he was always gentle, patient, and encouraging." He goes on: "It was well known that the feelings of the bishop for the congregation of St. Paul's were reciprocated by the members of the church themselves; and that whilst active amongst them; he was himself esteemed and beloved." To the truth of this latter statement the minutes of the congregation bear ample witness. These show that between pastor and people there prevailed unfailing harmony, and hearty co-operation not only in strictly congregational work, but also in schemes for the general good of the Church.

"For some years," previous to 1852, "a missionary was employed," and supported by St. Paul's congregation, "for the object of visiting ministerially the Episcopalians of the lowest order, chiefly from England and the north of Ireland, resident in Edinburgh, and inducing them to become regular members of some of the Episcopal congregations in the city." "To this duty was added that of superintending two schools—one for boys, and the other for girls—of the class just named."

The minute book contains three or four lengthy communications from the bishop to the vestry on the subject of the congregational missionary scheme—written, when he was from home, or "shut up by influenza," or otherwise unable to attend a meeting—and showing how the scheme from small beginnings gradually "grew and prospered" till it culminated in a new church and a separate congregation, "in the south back of the Canon-gate, in the very midst of the class of poor Church-people."

Till the spring of 1852, the "the ministrations of the

missionary, though far from ineffective, had not been so successful as the bishop had hoped." At that time the missionary "vacated his office"; and, as circumstances had changed, an opportunity offered for putting the mission on a better footing. "Three of our chapels, St. Columba's, St. John's, and Trinity, are now centres of missionary operations, and thus three districts to the north and west of Edinburgh are provided for." Then a local habitation was being provided for the missionary. "The bishops in co-operation with the Church Society, have resolved to dispose of their house in Hill Street, and with the probable proceeds of sale and some other funds have purchased a house in or near Leith Wynd, adjacent to the North British Railway Station, for the accommodation of (1) The episcopal and diocesan libraries; (2) Our several committees; (3) The training school, including residences, &c.; (4) The boys' and girls' school" [superintended by the missionary]. The house was to be ready at the term of Whitsunday. The bishop's "idea for continuing the mission" was to "place it in connection with the institution." "I propose," he wrote, "that a missionary chaplain or curate to me shall be appointed at a low salary, say £150 a year; that his first business shall be that of chaplain to the training and other schools in the institution; that he shall be directed, through the children, to endeavour to get access to their parents, and thus gradually to become acquainted with and minister to the poor in the eastern parts of the old town in a part removed from the operations at St. Columba's, St. John's, and Trinity." This plan "required the concurrence of the Church Society, &c.," but it was the bishop's wish that "the mission should be considered as emanating from the

congregation of St. Paul's alone, and that I should direct it rather as senior incumbent than as bishop. The necessary funds might be raised by subscription, or by an annual collection, or by both if necessary." It was "very desirable that the appointment" of the missionary should be "made as speedy as possible."

This proposal seemed to be readily accepted by all concerned, and it carried on the mission scheme a stage further. In two years more, however, the need of yet higher development became manifest, and "plans" were not wanting. Early in March, 1854, the bishop, being "confined with influenza," and forbidden by his medical attendant to go out, sent to the vestry certain "propositions," which the committee of the Training Institution had just laid before him, and which "must be speedily accepted or declined."

The sum of the propositions was that "the whole buildings of St. Andrew's Hall (as the new institution was named) should be made over to the vestry of St. Paul's, with the reserve of right to the bishops to retain the library and access to it." The hall would afford accommodation for the missionary, for schools, and masters and mistresses. But something had to be done, and not a little to be paid. The gable had to be repaired, and "a chapel to be run out as far as the city wall for the use of the missionary." The cost, including £40 a year rent to the Training Institution, would be—"say in all something above £2000."*

The vestry was probably staggered by this "little bill." By the end of the year a more excellent way for the accommodation of the mission flock was suggested by the bishop, and "heartily concurred in" by the

* Minute of March 10th, 1854.

vestry. This was to build for the missionary "a humble but church-like edifice, to accommodate from three to four hundred persons, in which all the sacraments and offices of the Church might be administered," and where the missionary might "every Sunday meet those among whom he laboured as a united and acknowledged congregation." The vestry heartily concurred in the proposal, and, looking out for a site, "ascertained that a very eligible site for such a church might be obtained on moderate terms at the South Back of the Canongate, opposite the foot of St. John Street." The purchase of the site and the erection of the church would cost about £1200.

The bishop now addressed a letter to the congregation of St. Paul's, in which he recounted all that had been done in the matter by himself and the vestry, and earnestly besought their co-operation and help, both for the immediate outlay and the continued support of the missionary. "The stipend of the officiating clergyman would still be provided by an annual offertory at St. Paul's, no seat rents being exacted." The writer remembers a remark made by the bishop in a sermon some years before this. A stranger entering his church would, he said, be apt to conclude that "the poor had ceased out of the land." He concludes this pastoral letter with a happy application of the same thought. "The certain fact that most of the Episcopalians of Scotland are of the middle and upper classes must not lead to the false inference that there are no poor Episcopalians. There are many in Edinburgh, but their existence is unknown, except to those who look for them. When therefore a stranger from the south, who comes to worship God among us, and who feels an

interest in the operations of our Church, looks around at the retiring congregation and asks, 'But where are your poor?'—I feel myself unable to return a satisfactory answer. I humbly trust that the grace of God and the sense of duty will lead you to supply me with the answer, and that ere long I may be enabled to say, 'They are at the church in the Old Town, built and supported by the liberality of this congregation.'”*

About four years after this period the bishop was so fortunate as to secure, in the present Dean of Edinburgh, a most valuable colleague and worthy successor in the charge. He had made a provisional engagement with Mr. Montgomery—"without consulting the vestry"—for a period of six months. But he writes to the clerk of the vestry (from Devereux House, Malvern, July 8th, 1859): "I soon saw the value of Mr. Montgomery's services, and to diminish the risk of losing them, I very soon requested him to consider our engagement as not limited to six months, but as indefinite, and to be governed by future circumstances which none of us at present could foresee." The bishop expressed great anxiety that the vestry should make some arrangement to secure if possible "the continuance of Mr. Montgomery's services." At the time indeed this step was of the utmost consequence to both pastor and people. The bishop was now verging on the threescore and ten, with broken health. He was not only bishop of the diocese, but also (since 1857) Primus, at the head of a Church shaken to its centre with controversy. He therefore stood in great need of that which he now obtained, viz., the assurance of thoroughly efficient and acceptable assistance.

* Minute of December 21st, 1854.

CHAPTER III.

MADE PRIMUS (1857)—RESIGNS OFFICE IN 1862—THE EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY—HIS IMPARTIALITY AS A JUDGE—ANECDOTE IN ILLUSTRATION—BISHOP SUTHER AND THE IRREGULAR CONFIRMATION SERVICE—HIS BLUNT OUTSPOKENNESS—BISHOP WORDSWORTH—BISHOP SUTHER—A DEPUTATION OF SCOTTISH DIVINES WAIT UPON HIM—THE QUESTION OF AN ARCHBISHOP FOR SCOTLAND—THE SCOTTISH OFFICE—TAKES OPPOSITE VIEWS FROM BISHOP RUSSELL ON BOTH THESE QUESTIONS, HIS LETTERS ON THESE QUESTIONS—LETTER TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW IN AMERICA ON THE QUESTIONS OF THE DAY—DEAN MONTGOMERY'S TESTIMONY AS TO THE WISDOM OF HIS GOVERNMENT OF HIS DIOCESE—DR. TEAPE'S REMINISCENCES OF HIS KINDNESS AND CONSIDERATENESS—ANECDOTE.

ON the death of Bishop Skinner in 1857, Bishop Terrot was chosen to succeed him as Primus. He was then, as has been said, verging on the threescore and ten, and was able to hold the office only for five years. At the end of that period his health was so broken down by a stroke of paralysis that he resigned the office of Primus, and obtained a coadjutor for the diocese of Edinburgh. For great part of the five years during which he presided as Primus, the Church was greatly agitated by the Eucharistic controversy, which originated in the dioceses of Brechin and Aberdeen. As president of the Synod of Bishops he had a very delicate and difficult part to play. On the whole, his conduct as a judge was such as to extort admiration from Churchmen of almost all parties. The writer was told at the time, by one who was much in Edinburgh

and knew well the sentiments of southern Churchmen, that the Primus's conduct on the judgment-seat was usually referred to as a signal instance of "English love of fairplay." His mind, indeed, was essentially a judicial one. Dean Ramsay says it was "more judicial than episcopal"—meaning probably that the bishop was more just than sympathetic—fair and equitable indeed, but deficient in fatherly consideration for the extreme utterances or the indiscreet actions of honest enthusiasts. Doubtless there was a measure of truth in this view of his character; for the dean also says of him that he was if possible "too much afraid of humbug." The judicial mind is, however, a cardinal requirement in a bishop. Bishop Terrot had frequent opportunities for its exercise, and he succeeded in holding the balance even between contending parties. He never hesitated to speak his thought, whichever way it might tell. The writer has repeatedly heard from an ear-witness (Dr. Grub) an instance of his prompt impartiality. It happened in the trial of a case where Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, complained that Bishop Suther had administered the rite of confirmation to some young persons belonging to the diocese of Brechin—the children of Sir Thomas Gladstone of Fasque. Bishop Suther's plea in defence was that he had not intruded into the diocese of Brechin. Fasque is near Aberdeen, and the candidates were presented to him in the church that was his own particular charge in Aberdeen. "In these peculiar circumstances," said the bishop, "I thought I did right." "I think you did wrong!" said Primus Terrot.

Bishop Terrot appears to have always co-operated loyally with his colleagues; yet he had, in a high degree, the outspokenness as well as the love of fairplay of an

Englishman. Whether acceptable to his colleagues or otherwise, he always gave full and forcible expression to his views on any question on which his opinion was asked. Occasionally a stranger laid too much stress on his strong outspoken statements. When the eminent scholar and divine who first presided over Trinity College, Glenalmond, passed through Edinburgh on his way north, he met Bishop Terrot, and this is his account of the meeting. "The first time I met Bishop Terrot was, I think, at an evening party at Mrs. D. Sandford's, in Edinburgh. I was on my way to Glenalmond to commence my duties as warden in the spring of 1847. When I was introduced to the bishop almost the first words he said to me were, 'I hope you are not going to *do anything so foolish* as to attempt to carry out the daily service at the College.' (The bishops had shortly before passed a resolution to that effect, which had, of course, been communicated to me.) • I was naturally *thrown aback* by such a remark coming from one of my ecclesiastical superiors, and I merely replied, 'I certainly intend to do my best to execute the instructions I have received.' " *

The remark was no doubt somewhat bluff and Johnsonian† in style, but the speaker meant no discourtesy to the warden, to whom the resolution was not due. If any one was guilty of folly in the matter it was the

* Letter to writer from Bishop Wordsworth, of St. Andrews, July 8th, 1890. The bishop adds to the above "And so I did. We had full daily service during the whole of the time I remained warden, but it was soon curtailed (perhaps *wisely*, and doubtless with full episcopal approval) by my successors."

† Dr. Johnson to Mr. Sheridan (in a coffee-house at Oxford), "How came you, sir, to give Home a gold medal for writing that *foolish* play?" (Douglas] Boswell's *Johnson*, vol. v., pp. 115 and 257, ed. 1833.) So again to the flippant youth who asked him what he would give to be as young and as sprightly as he was—"I think I would almost consent to be as *foolish*."

bishop's colleagues of the Episcopal Synod, to whom the idea of a "shortened service" had not occurred. It took many more years to produce an authorised break in the somewhat inelastic Anglican system.

This incident recalls to the writer's mind a somewhat similar one, which took place soon after the bishop had been made Primus. Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, published his famous "Primary Charge" in the year 1858. The sensation which it produced was great. Bishop Suther, on returning from a visit to Edinburgh, told the writer that the Primus was greatly alarmed as to the effect which he apprehended the publication would have on the Church in the south, and expressed his determination, in a certain contingency, to urge the adoption of a very summary remedy, "though the effect should be the severance of south and north." The northern bishop, however, knew his old ordinary too well to feel greatly alarmed by this strong statement. He seemed to look upon it merely as a significant reminder to the north that it was no longer supreme in the Church, but must count with the south.

Having been in Scotland almost the whole period of his ministry, Bishop Terrot seemed to look upon himself as a Scottish rather than as an English Churchman, but it was a Scottish Churchman of the Edinburgh or trans-Forthian type—one who had no sympathy with the Scotch Office or any of the Non-juring traditions. Such hold as the Usages had obtained in Edinburgh through the Keiths, the Forbeses, the Falconers, and the Abernethy Drummonds had been entirely lost. Bishop Gleig, of Stirling, used to say that he was the only clergyman in the diocese of Edinburgh that made use of the Scotch Office. There had come about almost a complete change

between north and south. But the southern clergy, though they did not use the Scotch Office, were not ignorant of its nature and construction. After Bishop Terrot was made Primus, the Eucharist and the Scotch Office became burning questions, and northern men differed amongst themselves as to the true interpretation to be put upon their Office. A deputation of not very elderly clergymen from the north waited upon the Primus for the purpose, it was said, of explaining to him the true northern tradition as to the meaning of a controverted interpretation of the Office. Apparently the Primus received the deputation very courteously, but he failed to give them satisfaction, not attaching much weight to their explanations. Of the particulars of their interview, however, the writer has no information; but to a friend, who called on him soon after the deputation left, the Primus remarked, "that they had shown, indeed, great consideration for his ignorance, but," he added, "I believe I was serving the Church in Scotland before any one of them was born."

On the subject of the Scotch Office—and also on another Scotch question of that and of the present day—the Metropolitan or Archbishop question—Bishop Terrot and Bishop Russell took opposite sides.

Bishop Russell, though he did not use the Scotch Office himself, nevertheless thought it superior to the English. As he wrote to Bishop Skinner, he "never concealed his preference for it," and he did his best to secure for it free toleration if not equality of position with the English. Bishop Terrot's attitude towards the Office will be given under his own hand—as also his opinion on the Metropolitan question. It was in the early part of 1842 that an agitation arose on this latter question. It was a

counter-move to the Roman Catholic scheme for the appointment of an Archbishop of St. Andrews. The prime agitator in the matter was Mr. William Forbes of Medwyn,* who had been at Rome, and had learnt on the best authority what was being meditated by the Vatican. He was one of the young gentlemen of good family who first broached the subject to Bishop Russell, who says he "laughed in their faces." The writer has before him a long letter from Mr. Forbes to Bishop Skinner on the subject, giving all his authorities. No doubt Mr. Forbes had before this urged the project on the attention of Bishop Terrot, and that prelate took it up and himself wrote to the Primus regarding it. This letter is of date April 16th, 1842:—

"MY DEAR PRIMUS,—I am going to address you on a matter which I suspect you may think trifling, but which strikes me as worthy of grave consideration. I am credibly informed that it is at present matter of grave consideration at Rome, whether the Vicars-apostolic in Scotland shall be changed into diocesan bishops, taking the titles of the ancient sees. If they do this, they will have a Metropolitan Archbishop of St. Andrews, and will have no ostensible opponent. According to ancient ecclesiastical usage every province should have a metropolitan. Now my idea is our Primus should be Metropolitan and Archbishop of St. Andrews—to which archbishopric should be conjoined whatever diocese the bishop elected Primus may have previously held. To the see of St. Andrews should belong the chapels in Fife alone. It would be a difficulty that the members of those chapels would have no voice in the election of

* Son of Lord Medwyn, and brother of Bishop Forbes; died, March, 1891—*ætatis* 88.

their bishop, as he would be chosen by the votes of the bishops. Perhaps it would not be unjust that a dean or delegate from them should be allowed to vote with the bishops on the election of a Primus, or Metropolitan, or Archbishop of St. Andrews. I own I should be much mortified to see a papist designating himself Archbishop of St. Andrews and we unable to assert a prior appropriation. I am aware all this would require much consideration, and a General Synod; that it would be much blamed and much ridiculed; but not by our real friends among the laity of Scotland. Think of these things, I pray you."

Bishop Skinner did "think of these things," and speedily communicated his thoughts to his correspondent. What his thoughts were, any one who knew the bishop can readily conceive. They were such that Bishop Terrot on learning them assured him that he would keep silence on the subject ever after! In a letter to Bishop Skinner written eight days after the last (April 24th, 1842), he abruptly interpolates the following reference to the subject, between two other subjects—"Neither you nor anybody else shall hear again of this arch-episcopate, so far as I can prevent it. I certainly do not view it exactly in the same light as you do. I have a great admiration for the policy of Rome—would that she were as innocent as she is wise! Is there any good reason why, retaining in general the ancient names for our sees, we have dropped *St. Andrews* and taken up *Fife*? But I confess we are going ahead fast enough at present, and cannot be too careful not to go beyond the public sympathy."

About two years after this an agitation arose on the subject of the Scotch Communion Office—the diocese of

Glasgow attacking, and that of Aberdeen defending. The Office had, by the Synod of 1811, been placed in an invidious and untenable position—that of primary authority. It would have been much more politic of its friends to have had it placed on a footing of equality with the English. Such a position might have been permanent, but that of primary authority could not be maintained after the north ceased to predominate over the south, and already the balance was inclining to the south. The diocese of Glasgow, which was now growing like the mustard seed, knew nothing of the Scotch Office, and wished it to be deposed from its position of primary authority. A portion at least of the clergy of that diocese addressed a memorial to their bishop in the year 1843, desiring him to take steps to have a General Synod summoned for that purpose. Bishop Russell quietly quashed this movement; but the Aberdeen clergy were not satisfied with a negative settlement, and they addressed a memorial to their own bishop, not only defending the position of the Scotch Office, but, so to speak, carrying war into the enemy's camp. Bishop Terrot had manifestly as little sympathy with the northern defence as with the western attack on the Office. It was thus that he wrote to Bishop Skinner on the subject (January 18th, 1844):—"As to the address to you respecting the Scottish Communion Service, I consider it a very firm and temperate expression of the feelings of those who hold the doctrine of the real presence and a commemorative sacrifice. But I dread much the bringing it to the vote whether these are articles of the faith of the Scotch Episcopal Church, or of the Catholic Church. To say, as your addressers do, that such is the opinion of all orthodox ritualists, is simply

to assert that their view is the orthodox view. I must confess that I find my own mind more and more confused by everything I attempt to read on these subjects; and that laying aside all opinion on presence or sacrifice, I fix my faith on sacramental grace, and believe that God does convey the benefits of Christ's death to the worthy communicant by mere bread and wine, just as he conveys spiritual regeneration by mere natural water. If the retaining, abolishing, or modifying Canon XXI. is to be decided by the arguments, I fear we shall have a conflict among ourselves. For myself, I will never take a step to weaken the authority of Canon XXI.; and were the matter unfortunately laid before a Synod, I should listen with pain to the arguments on both sides, and probably decline voting." After referring to some other topics, he concludes his letter thus:—"To refer again to the important subject of the Communion Office, I may mention that the impression on my mind is that the great majority of the laity are not in heart Scotch Episcopalians, but Church of England men, and I have heard from many, most of them Edinburgh people, some from Aberdeenshire, great stress laid upon the desirableness of perfect conformity. Among the Glasgow people the matter is still worse." The bishop here writes to the Primus—as he appears to have written on all occasions to his colleagues—frankly and straightforwardly, and, at the same time, quite courteously, giving full and free expression to his own views, yet not insinuating anything disrespectful to his correspondent or *his* views. Whether as Bishop of Edinburgh or as Primus, he appears to have always co-operated loyally with the other bishops.

The two letters on the Office and the Metropolitan question are fair specimens of his official letters. The

writer subjoins as a specimen of a friendly, familiar epistle—a letter addressed to his brother-in-law who lived in America. As might be expected, such a letter is more free and communicative than one written to a friend in this country would have been. It gives the bishop's opinions freely on the questions of the day; also an account of his professional pursuits, and his scientific recreations, and it shows how wide his interests and sympathies were:—

“*Edinburgh, December 31st, 1845.*

“MY DEAR WOOD,

“The location of your college (at Three Rivers), as of ours, appears to have been fixed entirely by the offer of land. As to the state of things here, you have much the same means of knowing as I have. The desertions to Popery in Scotland have not been numerous nor very influential, but the general opinion and my own is that the worst has not come yet. It has been said that many are to go over at Christmas—certainly those who have gone so far with Newman, Oakley, &c., express no sort of horror at their apostasy. We are sadly harassed in Scotland by a few men who go into the extremes of Puritanism and Puseyism, and that have a fine bone of contention in our Scotch Communion Office. The Puritans have got an obscure man, the Bishop of Cashel, to publish a letter against the Church in Scotland. I was urged to answer him, and did so. In the *Record*, and elsewhere, as many answers to me have been published as would fill a tolerable octavo. Others have written on my side, and the last is an article in the last *Quarterly*, said to be by Gladstone, who by the by has just come in as Colonial Secretary. Churchmen in the Colonies must not expect him to do more than he can do. I believe he will do all

for their good that he can. I have also published a volume of discourses, which I would send you if I knew of an opportunity. Though in the form of sermons, it is in fact two continuous treatises—one on the nature and use of Lent, the other on the idea of the Church. Lastly, I have been making out a series of propositions on the theory of numbers which I read before the Royal Society the other day, and which will be printed in the Transactions. I have rather discouraged this, for I thought that what was creditable to me as a mere amateur in science, might not be creditable to the Society. However, they say my props. are new and curious, and must be printed. The sort of conclusions I have come to are such as these—of any number which is not a multiple of three, if we take the 5th, 6th, and 7th powers, then in the 5th the ultimate difference of the odd and even digits is always equal to 1. In the 6th the ultimate sum of the digits equals 1, and in the 7th the ultimate sum of the digits always equals the root employed. The property of the 5th is true also for multiples of 3, but not for multiples of 11. Take 7 as a root—

$$7^5 = 16807 \quad - \quad 7 + 8 + 1 - (0 + 6) = 10, = 1 - 0 = 1.$$

$$7^6 = 117649 \quad \text{Sum of digits} = 28, 8 + 2 = 10, 1 + 0 = 1.$$

$$7^7 = 823543 \quad \text{Sum} = 25, 5 + 2 = 7 \quad . \quad . \quad .$$

I find these speculations a great relief to me from the heat of ecclesiastical strife. I am inclined to think that Wilberforce, the new Bishop of Oxford, is an accession to the bench. He has hitherto shown prudence and moderation in inferior positions. I heard him twice at Westminster, and thought his sermons both cordial and eloquent. He is also a man of respectable scientific attainments, especially in geology. I am convinced that clergymen ought not to be mere theologians—to know

the Bible and know human nature are the first points—but those who have to deal with the highly-educated classes ought to be highly-educated men. Classics, mathematics, and logic, are very properly the basis ; but there ought to be a top-dressing of the inductive sciences, and especially of politics, in Aristotle's sense. We ought to know the argument for and against property, privileged classes, primogeniture, Church establishments, poor laws, free trade, &c., &c. All these have a side on which true Christian principle may successfully be applied, but we cannot apply the principle unless we understand the subject. Our best clergy are over-wrought, and after ordination can acquire no knowledge that is not immediately professional. I will give you an example of the miserable way in which Church disputes are conducted. Some years ago the Bishop of Aberdeen was charged by the *Record* with putting up a crucifix in his church—this was false, and I suggested to him the propriety of publicly denying it. He thought such denials useless, and said nothing. Well, I told the story, I suppose, to the Master of the Temple (my old friend J. Robinson), and he at a private party said the *Record* was a wicked paper, and being called on for proof, tells my story with my name, and the imagined addition that I had written to refute the calumny, and that the *Record* had refused to admit my letter. One of the party goes home and writes the story to the *Record*, concealing his own name and the name of the teller, but naming me, and so I am forced to come forward and tell the exact truth of the matter."

After the bishop's death the present Dean of Edinburgh, the Very Rev. Dr. J. F. Montgomery, in a feeling address on the subject, called his brethren of the clergy to witness to "the wisdom and prudence with which the bishop had

governed the diocese." He had known the bishop long and intimately, and he felt that it was "indeed no small privilege to have his mind opened to me, and to be able to enter into his thoughts on many subjects of many kinds." "I learned," he continued, "to estimate highly the very great judgment and prudence which he displayed in dealing with the diocese under his charge. Those who knew him in the times when he was able to go in and out amongst us, and to make his deep and clear judgment felt in the ruling of the diocese, know how very clear that judgment was, and how singularly honest and upright were the thoughts and the feelings which he always expressed." (Applause.)

So far as the writer's knowledge and experience go, the other survivors of the Edinburgh clergy of that day would still "applaud" and endorse the dean's words, and also add that, in addition to being "wise and prudent," the bishop in dealing with his clergy was also kind, genial, considerate, and brotherly.

The Rev. Dr. Teape of St. Andrew's, South Back Canon-gate, Edinburgh, was ordained by the bishop, and by him also appointed to the charge of the mission flock he and his congregation had so patiently nursed, and which at the present day numbers eight hundred souls. Dr. Teape says he always found the bishop very kind and considerate—consulting his convenience in appointing a day for his ordination to the priesthood, and giving him time to think over the offer of the Edinburgh charge which he had made to him before giving up his work and prospects at Stirling. The young clergyman felt that it was only an enhancement of this kindness when the bishop rallied him on his use of a somewhat high-sounding conventional phrase. Mr. Teape said he had elected to accept the

Edinburgh charge because it would afford him a "wider sphere of usefulness." The bishop smiled, and said, "Have you converted all the people of Stirling?" Then he went on to tell a story of an English bishop of his acquaintance who put a similar question to a young clergyman who had applied to him for a living in a large town, because his present charge did not afford sufficient scope for his talents.

CHAPTER IV.

HIS LITERARY VENTURES—HIS FIRST PUBLICATION THE PRIZE POEM "HEZEKIAH AND SENNACHERIB"—PROFESSOR KELLAND'S ESTIMATE OF IT—HIS NEXT POEM, "COMMON SENSE": A SATIRE ON THE POETS AND PREACHERS OF THE DAY—THE POETS NAMED, THE PREACHERS ONLY INDICATED—THE CALVINISTIC PREACHER—THE FASHIONABLE PREACHER—DEATH-BED SCENES—THE PIOUS WIDOW—THE CARELESS SOLDIERS—WELL-RECEIVED BY THE CRITICS, BUT LOOKED ON AS A PROLUSION RATHER THAN A SERIOUS EFFORT OF THE AUTHOR'S MUSE.

MR. TERROT's literary ventures were almost all of a more or less casual and tentative character. This was certainly the character of his poetical attempts, which were not so much finished productions as academical exercises—feelers put forth to make trial of his powers. The first of the two which saw the light was *Hezekiah and Sennacherib; or, The Destruction of Sennacherib's Host*, which gained for him the Seatonian prize.* This was a very creditable and promising effort—at least an average specimen of the prize poem. "Portions of it," says Professor Kelland, "are deserving of a high rank, and as a whole it is striking and effective." The finest part is the night scene, in

* Till two years ago, apparently, the Seatonian did not cross the Border again. In 1891, however, it was carried by the Rev. G. W. Rowntree of St. Paul's, Aberdeen, with a poem on the Martyrdom of St. Stephen and again last year by one on Jeremiah. Mr. Rowntree is still a youthful poet, and may live to achieve many more Seatonian triumphs. The Cambridge M.A. may compete every year if he chooses, and one who succeeds two years running may surely enter the lists with a good hope. Masters of Art are many, born poets few. For an account of the "Seatonian" and some of its most successful winners, see note at the close of this chapter.

which is depicted the Assyrian army encamped before the walls of Jerusalem, waiting with feverish anxiety for the first streak of dawn to commence the assault. The author introduces the reader to a humble tent, in which lie two soldiers, restless and tossing through the long night. Each dreams his dream. The one, eager for the battle, "dreams that with Jewish blood his spear is red." He has cleared the ramparts and, with his companions, is wildly rushing on the devoted city. The other, "of softer mind," is carried away to the home of his affections on the banks of the Tigris, "to the rude cot where dwelt his infancy." He is welcomed back by friends "with a smiling tear";

"And she whom best he loves, who loves him best,
Hangs round his neck and weeps upon his breast."

The pleasant dream is interrupted by his comrade's frantic struggles. He wakes, and

"Fear comes over him, he knows not why."

The curtain of the tents are shaken—

"A blast
From heaven moaned low and sadly as it passed."
It is "the icy wind of death." On that blast rides the Avenging Angel, carrying "the last long sleep" to all who sleep among the Assyrian hosts.

In answer to King Hezekiah's prayer for deliverance Isaiah gave him emphatic assurance of the impending destruction of his enemies. It is thus that the great prophet is introduced :—

"In solemn ecstasy the prophet's eye
Gazed on the visions of futurity,
And heavenly voices whispered in his ear
The still small tones that only he could hear.
Kings may look high, and proud may be their tone
When bending vassals kneel around the throne ;

The conqueror's port be lofty, when his car
Of triumph brings him from the prosperous war ;
But on the prophet's upcast eye there shone
A light that mortal durst not look upon,
And never king nor conqueror gave command
So loftily as when he raised his hand,
And, uttering deep and slow the solemn word,
Proclaimed the will of Heaven, 'Thus saith the Lord !'

The poem was published at Cambridge under the title of *Hezekiah and Sennacherib : a Poem*—and it was dedicated to Bishop Sandford of Edinburgh. The value of the prize was £40.

After three years' silence Mr. Terrot followed up his prize poem by a poem addressed to the outer world. It is natural that the prize poet should wish to know if he is also a born poet. It is to the many-voiced public that he must look for the verdict on this point, and no lasting verdict can be given till he has produced further and better-matured proofs of his powers. It can hardly be said that Mr. Terrot made a serious attempt to woo the muse. His second venture* was both in subject and treatment critical rather than poetical. It was entitled *Common Sense*, and was a satirical review of the poets and preachers of the day—the poets being named, the preachers only indicated by types. The author was severe on the poets, and certainly

"He spared not his own clergy cloth
But ate into it like a moth."

It was only "the cloth" or the class, however, that he assailed—he mentioned no names.

Of the poets he speaks mostly in the satirical vein. To him the irrepressible crowd of living poets and

* *Common Sense ; a Poem* : David Brown, Edinburgh, 1819.

poetasters appeared—as those of the previous century did to Pope—“as a plague.” The reviewers he looks upon as “gamekeepers,” doing invaluable service to literature by keeping the versifying “poachers” off Parnassus. Sometimes, indeed, a reviewer made a mistake. “One noble lord, when warned off the ground, proved very satisfactorily that he had a license, and, moreover, broke the keeper’s head for speaking insolently to him.”*

The poem opens with a comparison of the bustling, noisy crowd of living poets to the plague of frogs in Egypt.

“Time was, when bards were few ; then might you see
In Button’s room the whole fraternity ;
But now like Egypt’s frogs, on every hand,
They spread and croak and darken all the land :
Go where you will there’s not a bardless spot
From the king’s chamber to the peasant’s cot ;
All rave in rhyme—a strange incongruous sight,
Male, female, soldier, peer, and parson write—
Inspired they write, nor seek for fame or bread,
They write, they print—and sometimes they are read.”

What is here the plague of frogs, is in Pope a madhouse, or Parnassus “let loose”—a still worse plague, especially to the true poet.

“The dog-star rages ; nay, ’tis past a doubt
All Bedlam or Parnassus is let out ;
Fire in each eye and papers in each hand
They rave, recite, and madden round the land.”

* Evidently the author does not look upon himself as one of these rhyming “poachers,” but as a timely assistant to the overtaken gamekeepers. He writes in rhyme, as appropriate to the subject ; but it is for the purpose of discouraging rhyme. For himself he makes no claim. He does not, like the great English satirists, whom he manifestly imitates, affect to look down on the poetasters from the heights of Parnassus. In reading his strictures one is continually reminded of Dryden’s *Macflecknoe*, of Pope’s *Dunciad*, and the energetic and indignant youthful outburst of the “noble lord who broke the keeper’s head”—viz., *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*.

Then they all flew "to Twit'nam," and whether friendly or hostile they were equally troublesome.

"A dire dilemma ! either way I'm sped—

If foes they write, if friends they read me dead."

Most of "the flies" whom our author aids "the Reviewer" in breaking on the wheel, have long been forgotten, as the poetasters whom Pope and Dryden lashed would have been but for the exquisite satire in which, "like flies in amber," they have been preserved to an immortality of ridicule. But it was not only the weak and powerless that our critic attacked. He is very severe on the faults, both intellectual and moral, of several of the leading poets of his day—especially Byron, while freely acknowledging his genius.

"If vice be low,

Hateful and mean, then Byron's verse is so.

Not all his genius saves him from the curse

Of plunging deeper still from bad to worse ;

With frantic speed, he runs the road to ruin,

And damns his name for ever by Don Juan."

He wants variety :

"One character alone can he afford

To Harold, Conrad, Lara, or my lord ;

Each half a madman, mischievous and sour,

Supremely wretched each, and each a Giaour."*

The preachers did not lend themselves to the same free handling as the poets. They were not to the same extent public characters, seldom enjoying more than a mere parochial reputation, and generally making their

* In a note the writer says : "What Lord Byron especially wants is the notion of moral sublimity as connected with virtue. His heroes are ruffians, and his poetry, with all its beauty, is essentially such as would harmonise with the obscure revelry of banditti. His degradation has been progressive, from *Parasina* through *Beppo*, down to *Don Juan*." He trusts that the critics will "let him know that the great body of his countrymen detest and despise his impiety, his selfishness and sensuality."

appeal to a limited public. For obvious reasons, therefore, the critic abstained from mentioning names, or giving recognisable pen-and-ink sketches of well-known individuals amongst the preachers of the day. He portrays only a general representative of each class. The critic undoubtedly laboured under one disqualification for the faithful representation of a Scotch preacher: that he had but a short and comparatively limited experience of Scotland and Scotchmen. His descriptions suffer less from this drawback, however, than some of the Scotch reviewers of the time seemed to think.

Of this sketch a very favourable and appreciative reviewer of the time * says: "One perceives at first glance, that it must have been drawn by a stranger, who had no better guide than the description of others; and these even all referable to a period which has long gone by. Were it not that he talks of a *bell*, we should not conceive that he knew so little of our parish churches as to suppose that our clergy dabble in the low Calvinism which he puts into the mouth of the preacher." After quoting the passage, the reviewer speaks of the writer as "knowing little of our parochial clergy when he makes them Calvinists." Let the reader who knows the history of the period peruse the passage, and then judge for himself whether the preacher therein portrayed was or was not a fair representation of a rising class of popular preachers.

"Wouldst thou then learn how man may safest go
Along this vale of weariness and woe?
Ask of the preacher—seek yon low-roofed door
Where in close crowds the impatient hearers pour;

* *Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine* for 1820, p. 77: Edinburgh, Macredie, Kelly & Co.

Where the grave elder sits and twirls his thumbs
Till the bell ceases, and the preacher comes ;
And ruddy maids with wistful envy look
On others' velvet hat or gilded book.
Now list and thou shalt hear the very chime
Of the good cause, and of the good old time
When discipline and system hand in hand
Ruled faith and practice through the favoured land ;
Before, the patron's word was all in all,
And presentees still waited for the call.
It is the system. Listen ! for no fool
Is this, nor trifier of the modern school ;
Nor, like poor Blair's, the banquet he affords
A scrap of ethics in a froth of words ;
But from the plenteous store which he unlocks
Flow the pure streams of Calvin and of Knox.
Through the five points, with cautious step he treads,
Divides and subdivides his hydra heads ;
He gives Necessity a Christian name
(Names matter little when the thing's the same),
Till half his hearers are convinced that we,
Do what we will, do just what was to be."

Now surely the poet has here seized upon, and given a life-like presentation of the great popular Scottish preacher of the day—the non-intrusionist as he came soon to be called—he who denounced patronage, and intrusion, and "the modern school," and called on his countrymen to return to their first Presbyterian faith—"the doctrine of Calvin and of Knox." Such a preacher was nothing if not Calvinistic,* and though he might be

* When the union of the Free Church with the United Presbyterian was proposed, Dr. Candlish gloried in the idea that the united body would be "thoroughly Calvinistic." So far as the writer remembers, he made use of three epithets—"thoroughly Evangelical, thoroughly Presbyterian, and thoroughly Calvinistic." Doubtless, that which chiefly recommends Calvinism to the pious mind is that it makes God everything and man nothing. Its weakness is that it leaves out of account the *character* of the Almighty. No one doubts the "Sovereignty" of God ; but it is difficult to conceive of Him as other than a just and merciful sovereign. It is impossible in these

overlooked by such men as Terrot's reviewer, and not even accounted as one of the "parochial clergy," he had for the last ten years been rapidly growing in influence and power, and by about the end of ten years more he was ecclesiastically supreme—able to control the General Assembly, pass the Veto law, and disrupt the Church.

The poet now takes his reader to hear a fashionable preacher of mild morality—a mere "ape of Epictetus," so far as appears.

"Now to yon lofty temple let us haste—
 The very Parthenon of civic taste.
 It must be worth the while; for see, the approaches
 Are filled with pampered steeds and gilded coaches.
 Hark to the well-drilled quire—unlike the twang
 That through yon vulgar crowd promiscuous rang.
 Squeeze in—squeeze in, and let us, if we can,
 Hear doctrine suited to a gentleman.
 Now check thy tongue, the preacher's at his text,
 Bend all thy soul, and hear what cometh next.
 'Think not the ways of righteousness are hard :
 Virtue, sweet virtue, is its own reward.
 Behold how generous, unsuspecting youth
 Loves the fair form of honour and of truth ;
 And look within—have ye not understood
 The gentle luxury of doing good ?
 And knowing this, can ye, I say, but start
 At those, who say, man has a corrupt heart ?

days to silence objectors to the morality of Calvinism by urging the "Sovereignty of God." "Even within Christianity we have had fanatics so inordinately possessed with belief in God's sovereignty of election, to the exclusion of all other divine truths, as to profess themselves, with impious audacity, willing to be damned for His glory. Such instances are enough to prove to us the extreme danger of making the sovereignty of God the *first* article of our creed. It is not safe for men to exalt a Deity to the throne of the supreme Providence, till they are certified of His character." (Rev. G. A. Smith's Isaiah I., chap. iii.). Thus speaks one of the ablest and most learned of the rising generation of Free Church ministers.

Flee bad example—follow Nature still,
They do blaspheme who say she leads to ill ;
Avoid extremes—sin lies in them alone,
And be to all your moderation known :
Be pure, be kind, for piety is such ;
But, brethren, be not righteous over much ! ”

The likeness is not so easily recognisable in the above sketch. From certain touches it might be taken for an exaggerated representation of a town minister of the Moderate party, with certain traits thrown in from recollections of English preachers. But doubtless it is chiefly a fancy sketch intended for a companion picture to that of the Calvinistic preacher—and as complete a contrast as possible—the one representing man as all innocent and self-helpful, the other making him wholly corrupt and helpless. Lord Palmerston could not have expressed a better opinion of human nature than this “ape of Epictetus.” It must never be forgotten, however, in reading a work of this sort, that satire is not description. Its very nature implies exaggeration, distortion, misrepresentation, and ‘caricature rather than portraiture.*

The author appears to more advantage when he turns from preachers and preaching to quiet pastoral work. He takes a walk, apparently with an English vicar in an English parish, and witnesses two death-bed scenes, which form as complete a contrast as that of the two

* Many changes have been made in all Churches since 1819. How many and how great changes have been made in the teaching and worship of the Established Church of Scotland within even the last thirty or forty years may be seen in an article by Dr. Gloag of Galashiels in the July No. of the *Scots Magazine* (1892). One statement of Dr. Gloag’s greatly struck the writer. “Speaking on the change in the doctrine most insisted on in the modern pulpit, he notes that the theological terms, original sin, justification, and sanctification, are seldom heard nowadays.” Forty years ago, little else was heard in many pulpits.

dreaming warriors in Sennacherib's host. The first case was that of Widow Thomson, "bed-rid and blind," who

"Entered upon life

A village beauty and a farmer's wife."

She lived happily till worldly losses brought ruin, and then death—total bereavement of husband and children.

"All—all were gone : and she was left behind
To mourn and suffer—poor, decrepit, blind.
She knew the very step of him whose voice
Had taught her 'mid her sorrows to rejoice,
And those wan features, as he took her hand,
Showed joy that worldlings cannot understand—
A trust in Him Who has the power to save ;
A hope that fearless looks beyond the grave."

There was nothing in the poor widow's manner, unreal or pretentious—nothing fanatical or presumptuous—nothing that savoured of self-righteousness.

"Not hers the light by pride and passion bred,
From the deep quagmires of a muddy head ;
Not hers the fool-born jest and stifled sigh,
With which philosophers prepare to die.
Her talk was lofty, but 'twas humble, too :
How much she had to hope, how much to do ;
How little she had done ; how much remained
To do before the victory was gained.
To run, to fight, to wrestle, to endure,
To make her calling and election sure !
She spoke with gratitude of trials past,
And calmly dared anticipate the last.
She, when by cares o'erwhelmed, by doubt distressed,
Looked to the Cross for peace, to Heaven for rest ;
And confidence in Him Who cannot lie
Had made her patience strong, her courage high."

was natural, the author was edified by the scene.

Well,' said I, dashing off a single tear,
'Tis surely good for us to have been here ;

Such lively faith, such patient hope to see,
Does more than tomes of Dutch divinity.
Not for the world these visits would I miss,
If all your sick-list cases be like this.”

Of course all the cases were very far from being like this. Many were the direct opposite. Visiting clergy must nerve their minds

“ To see the reckless sinner that can die
Without a hope, and yet without a sigh :
Or, hoping all in works of human pride,
As if no Saviour died, or need have died.”

The vicar now stopped at a lonely cottage on the moor, a miserable hovel, the abode of a miserable decrepit old couple.

“ Clay was the flooring, and the walls were clay,
And on the window rags obscured the day ;
'Twas old and filthy all—the very air
Felt dull and loaded with miasma there.”

To complete the misery of the scene, the only son lay dying in a dark corner.

“ . . . On a crazy bed,
With half a broken tester over-head.”

His history is that of untold multitudes.

“ . . . He had been
The first in many a bold and bloody scene ;
Untaught in youth, he led a wandering life,
Till, caught by scarlet coat and drum and fife,
He sold the liberty he held so dear,
And quitted home and friends without a tear.
For six campaigns he followed in the train
Of victory through Portugal and Spain.
But cold and midnight bivouacs impaired
The frame that ball and bayonet had spared :
And he, with wasted limbs and aching head,
Lay dying there upon that crazy bed !”

There was nothing in the state of the dying man's

mind to relieve the cheerless gloom of the scene. When the vicar talked to him

“Of Christ, of judgment, and of sin,
I saw at once the work was to begin;
To every truth a careless ear was lent,
And every pause received a faint assent.
He knew that he had sinned like all the rest,
But God was good, and so he hoped the best;
This was the sum of his religion, this
His penitence for sin, his hope of bliss.”

This second poetical flight seems to have been on the whole very well received. The reviewer already quoted says: “Upon the whole, the production is highly creditable to the talents and principles of the unknown author; and yet we regard it rather as a proof that he could do great things if he chose, than that he has in this effort taxed his abilities to their utmost extent. It has been to him a pastime rather than a work—a sort of prolusion, to display rather than to prove his armour. The great beauty of the piece, indeed, is the extreme facility with which it seems to have been done. It displays everywhere an ease approaching to carelessness, and would almost make one think that poetry was the author’s mother tongue.”

Whatever his critics might say of the poem, Terrot himself was not the man to over-estimate its merits, or to fancy he could build on it any claim to “the poet’s bays.” No man was less likely to forget the Horatian maxim—

“Mediocribus esse poetis,

Non Dî, non homines, non concessère columnæ.”

What it did establish was the author’s reputation as a man of general literary power and culture—an acute observer, thinker, and critic, with a keen interest in

literature and theology. It made him better known and more widely respected. But he did not essay another extended poetical effort, though he wrote some excellent hymns. Henceforth his publications were more or less strictly of the professional order—sermons, commentaries, charges, &c.

THE SEATONIAN PRIZE.

“It is almost rather the rule than the exception for the same man to get the “Seatonian” more than once, and very often this has happened two or more years consecutively. C. Smart started off in 1750-53 with four consecutively, then missed '54, and won again in '55. Numbers of men took it two and three times consecutively. One, S. Hayes, had four consecutives, then three misses, and then three consecutives. Hankisson, six consecutives, then one miss, and then three more consecutives. The case of J. M. Neale is a curious one. He took the prize in 1845 and 1851, and then, with the exception of 1861, when no prize was given, every year from 1855 to 1863, including the last. Then Moule (Principal, Ridley Hall) took it in 1869-73 consecutively, and in 1876. No prize was given in 1875. . . . The prize was founded in 1741 by the Rev. Thomas Seaton, M.A., Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. The fund comes from an estate in Northamptonshire, yielding at present about £50 per annum.’ This forms the prize, minus the printing of the poem, which the winner defrays out of the £50.”*

* Extracts from letter to writer from the Rev. G. W. Rowntree, 15th December 1892.

CHAPTER V.

HIS EXPOSITION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS (1828)—TRANSLATION OF ERNESTI'S INSTITUTES (1832-3)—DEAN RAMSAY'S OPINION OF THE EXPOSITION—ERNESTI STILL POPULAR—"PASTORAL LETTERS" ADDRESSED TO THE YOUNG (1834)—TWO SETS OF LENT LECTURES OR TREATISES ON LENT AND THE CHURCH (1845)—A VOLUME OF SERMONS (1865)—PARALYTIC STROKE—THE TEMPLARS—RECONCILIATION OF ST. PAUL AND ST. JAMES.

AFTER his youthful poetical ventures, Mr. Terrot's contributions to literature were, as has been said, almost wholly confined to professional subjects. In the year 1828 he published an *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans*.^{*} And in 1832-3 he translated for Clark's "Biblical Cabinet, or Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library," the two volumes of Ernesti's *Institutio Interpretis*.[†] Both these works were addressed to scholars and critics rather than to the general reader. Scholars and critics appreciated both, especially the Ernesti, but neither work could be expected to command a wide circulation. For that, even the *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans* was too critical and scholarly.

No doubt Terrot was led to the choice of the latter subject chiefly by the controversy on faith and works, which bulked so largely, especially in the early days of

^{*} *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*, with an introduction, paraphrase, and notes, by C. H. Terrot, A.M., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London, Hatchards; Edinburgh, Adam Black, MDCCCXXVIII.

[†] *Principles of Biblical Interpretation*, translated from the *Institutio Interpretis* of J. A. Ernesti, by C. H. Terrot, A.M., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Edinburgh, Thomas Clark, 35 George Street, 1832.

his ministry and in the ministry of his early pastors and masters—particularly his uncle William, his Carlisle tutor, and the Milners. The evangelical view must have been diligently instilled into his youthful mind, and it had always an interest for him. But as his mind expanded, and he had opportunities for associating with men of maturer minds and wider views, he burst his narrow party bonds. At Cambridge, as he always affirmed, he received an “education” in religious as well as in secular matters from such men as Mill and Robinson, afterwards well known in the Church. His views broadened and deepened. He did not, as so many men do, abandon one narrow view and narrow party for another; on the contrary, he strove to keep and reconcile whatever was good in all parties. He looked carefully into the scriptural grounds for the leading evangelical views. No doubt it was his desire to make sure of his ground on such questions as those which were then so much debated, regarding faith and works, that led him to undertake his *Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*.

Of this work, Dean Ramsay thought very highly, and gave in his memoir a very succinct and clear statement of the nature and method of the treatise, and an abstract of the argument. “This work,” he says, “like everything he wrote, is able as an exposition, clear in its views, and perspicuous in language. The paraphrase brings out the full meaning of the text. The introduction gives sound general views of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith; whilst the notes give some excellent critical comments on the Apostle's language. In the introductory remarks are some statements of the precise doctrine of this noble epistle, which

bear out the remarks I have made on the clearness and accuracy of his thought and style of writing. I think the following extract will be found to supply to the student of the Epistle to the Romans a very able abstract or compendium of the argument:—‘Here then we see that faith is the basis on which the whole system is founded, and this faith, which by its proper exercise is directly instrumental to justification, is properly called faith in Christ, or, by a still more limited expression, faith in Christ’s blood. For the first thing that the sinner wants is not *reward*, but the *remission* of *punishment*, not *justification*, but *pardon*. And he who believes that by the precious blood-shedding of Christ an atonement was effected for the sins of the whole world, can, upon the strength of this faith, “Come boldly unto the throne of grace.” The divine *justice* must be satisfied before the divine *grace* can be dispensed; and he only who believes that, in his own case, justice has been satisfied can rationally, and on scripture warrant, seek for the higher blessings of *justification*.’”

Dean Ramsay says that at the time of its publication it was said of this work that “it was too learned for popular use, and not deep enough for the learned.” The consequence was that, though favourably noticed, it did not attain to so wide a circulation as it deserved.

Mr Terrot’s next work—the translation of Ernesti—did not labour under the same disadvantage as the Exposition of the Romans. It was almost wholly a book for scholars, and by scholars it was and is appreciated. Though published originally in 1765—seventy years before this translation appeared, it was in no sense obsolete. It had not been superseded. As Terrot observed in his preface, Ernesti’s *Institutes* continued to hold its

place as the standard introduction to Hermeneutics, as surely as Euclid's *Elements* held its place as the standard introduction to Geometry. The standard edition of the *Institutes* was that of Ammon of Gotha, published in 1809. Like Ernesti himself, Ammon was a very learned man, furnished, in true German fashion, with all the aids to biblical research which were attainable at the time, including a knowledge of the chief Semitic tongues. The translator, though less erudite, was quite sufficiently equipped for the task of translation. In the classical languages he could hold his own with both author and editor. In Hebrew he could follow their reasoning and supply some illustration of his own. He could not, as they occasionally did, throw light on a scripture word or phrase, by a quotation from the Syriac or Arabic. In general, however, his critical remarks are manifest emendations of the text and notes, and form a real enrichment of the work. He never fails to meet and combat with force and point any extreme views of a rationalistic tendency. But his weapons are always reason and argument, not simply denial and denunciation. In regard to German rationalism, Terrot gives proof of his own sound sense and robust faith along with a touch of cynicism.

"Nor," he says in his preface, "is the translator alarmed at the idea of introducing to British students a portion of the Neological or semi-infidel theology of modern Germany. He verily believes that it might have been safely trusted without note or comment to the practical good sense of the public, in the firm conviction that German *Rationalism* is not a system by which honest minds have been or can be misled." The wisdom of those remarks will not be doubted by those who

know how futile the attempt to bar out the German criticism proved.

What follows was probably meant as mere banter. "To those indeed," he adds, "who desire to reconcile real infidelity with a public profession of Christianity, it affords a convenient medium between the humiliating reception of genuine Christianity and the daring and unpopular avowal of absolute unbelief. In such cases the effect of the system is good, rather than evil: for it is with infidelity as with vice: if we cannot prevail upon their adherents to reject them altogether, something is still gained when they are led to assume the decency of a veil."* This recalls Burke's famous outburst about the age of chivalry, when "vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness." But the advantage of such a "veil" is very problematical, and the probability is that Terrot was here speaking ironically, as in his criticism of Goethe recorded by Professor Kelland. The two volumes of the *Institutes* are said to be still in demand and to fetch a good price, notwithstanding the giant strides which biblical criticism has made within the last sixty years; thus verifying the translator's comparison of Ernesti's position with that of Euclid.

Next year (1834) Mr. Terrot published a small volume of 67 pages containing four "Pastoral Letters," addressed to the "younger members of" his congregation. The subjects were (1) Practical Religion; (2) Confirmation; (3) The Lord's Supper; (4) The Church. The views were moderate High Church, the style on the whole easy and flowing, and the tone earnest and affectionate.

His next publication was the ablest and most finished

* Preface, p. 11., vol. I.

of those volumes of sermons which he gave to the world. "Though in the form of sermons," however, as he himself said, the book was "in fact two continuous treatises, one on the nature and use of Lent, the other on the idea of the Church." The treatise on Lent embraced seven "Discourses" entitled "Christian Humiliation." That on the Church consisted of six, under the title "The City of God."* If the reader bears in mind the year in which the treatises were published, viz., 1845, the year of Newman's secession, and only two years after the great Disruption in Scotland, he will see how appropriate to the times was the bishop's choice of subjects. Under "Lent" or the "Church" every burning question of the day might be introduced, and in fact it was impossible to discuss either of the subjects without a more or less open allusion to bitter Church-rending controversies. The bishop did not shrink from grappling with his subjects in all their aspects—doing full justice to opposing views, distinguishing clearly between the form and the spirit, the accident and the essential—always employing decorous language, and yet expressing himself with vigour, point, and precision. He began his first Lent sermon on "Humiliation" by saying that of the great yearly fast "we have by degrees lost all but the name," yet it was not "a portion of the corruptions of Popery." "The spirit of the age, as it is called—that is, the mass of crude, unexamined notions which pass current in the world"—considered the observance of Lent "a gloomy superstition totally unsuited to the genius of Christianity." "Now," he said, "in reference to superstition, I take it to mean a tendency to suppose that certain external and visible objects,

* *Two Series of Discourses*—(1) *Christian Humiliation*; (2) *The City of God*. By C. H. Terrot, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London, John W. Parker, MDCCCXLV.

which are in reality quite insignificant, have, by some inherent efficacy, an important influence on our spiritual interests. And thus, if a man believes that by visiting certain places or churches, creeping on his knees up a certain staircase, kissing a particular stone, or repeating a certain formulary a certain number of times in succession, he recommends himself to God and is nearer to Heaven, the man is superstitious." There was nothing superstitious in "the principle of Lent," which is "that all Christians without exception should at that period more especially humble themselves before God, and call their ways to remembrance, and make reparation for their sins, both of omission and commission." The mode of carrying out the principle must differ in different ages. We may "admire the discipline of the early Church," and yet not dream of restoring it. "The form without the spirit would be of little value, and the immediate restoration of the form would not be a certain or a likely way of restoring the spirit." The bishop then proceeded to describe the practice of the early Church, and then asked his hearers to "set themselves to consider how, in conformity with modern usage, they could still apply the principle."

"THE CITY OF GOD."

It is, of course, altogether vain and hopeless to expect to find in the Christendom of the nineteenth century, anything at all corresponding to "the city of the living God" set before us in the twelfth of the Hebrews. "What is it that we have come unto?" asks the bishop. "It is to a chaotic variety of sectional parties vilipending and vilifying one another, placing human opinion in the rank of Christian faith; separating upon principles that would justify the separation of every human

being from every other human being; and bound together—not so much by the bands of love, as by the temporary tie of a common hatred to the same object.”

Was it only “to this scene of discord that we have come by our baptism”? No; it was to “the spiritual Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the eternal city whose builder and maker is God.” “It was not to the Church of the country or of the age, but to the Church universal.”

“There is visible and definable upon earth the great body of those who have put on Christ by Christian baptism; a vast empire rent by intestine divisions, some portions heretical, some schismatical, some indifferent; yet all formally acknowledging the supreme spiritual authority of the great Head of the Church and calling themselves by the name of Christ.” It was vain to inquire if any particular portion of this great empire was or was not “really and truly a portion of Christ’s Church.” The question was: “Is it living in accordance with the fundamental law of the kingdom? Of every county in England and Scotland and of all its inhabitants, we may safely affirm that they are a true portion of the British Empire. But whether they are living in obedience to the imperial law, that is another question.”

“No portion of the Church has the power to un-Church another, but one portion may say of another that its doctrines are not evangelical, nor its polity apostolical. The visible Church of Christ is commensurate and synonymous with Christendom.”

The bishop proceeded in his subsequent discourses to consider “the conditions,” the “powers,” “the authority,” of the Church; “‘Love to the brethren’ as a

Church principle," and "the Christian's privileged communion with God." These topics were all handled by the bishop in his usual clear and masculine style, with a distinct and pointed application to the times, and to the circumstances of his hearers.

After 1845, with the exception of his addresses and charges, and similar fugitive productions, Bishop Terrot did not publish any work till 1865, when he gave to the Church a volume of sermons * "affectionately dedicated" to his congregation of St. Paul's, in York Place. By that time the bishop's health was broken, and he was unable to devote the necessary care to the editing of the work. There is no preface; but at the end of the volume the following note is appended:—"The increasing weakness of the author, during the progress of the volume through the press, has prevented the introduction of certain alterations which he wished to make, especially on Sermon ix., and which would have brought out more fully the doctrine of Justification by Grace to all who thankfully accept it, as given without money and without price."

The sermons probably appeared in print very much as they were delivered. To most sermons this would be a severe ordeal—but everything that came from the bishop's pen was carefully composed. These sermons are carefully composed—too carefully perhaps; too closely and compactly reasoned, and too exclusively addressed to the reason and the understanding. They had too little of the emotional—too little unction for the average hearer. The congregations, however, whom the bishop generally addressed, were largely composed

* *Sermons*, preached at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Edinburgh, by the Right Rev. C. H. Terrot, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. Edinburgh, Edmonstone and Douglas, 1865, pp. 400.

of well educated and highly intelligent Churchmen, who could follow with interest the preacher's expositions and arguments, and find them "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, and for instruction in righteousness." Such hearers could apply the lessons of the subject to themselves; and when the bishop had an audience wholly composed of such enlightened and intellectual hearers—as, for example, when he took the duty of his friend, Archdeacon Robinson, in the Temple Church, London, his sermons appear to have been very highly appreciated. Several anecdotes are told in proof of his popularity among the Templars. Dean Ramsay mentions one, viz., "what a distinguished Templar said to a Scottish gentleman—'We have so much in England of the essence of *common-place*, that it is quite a relief to hear your little bishop from Edinburgh, who is sure to give us something of the essence of *common-sense*.'"

A like compliment, but in more homely and familiar terms, is said to have greatly tickled the bishop himself. On one occasion when he appeared ascending to the Temple pulpit, "a gentleman sitting in one of the stalls was heard by a friend of the bishop's who sat next to him, to say to his neighbour, "Ah, there's that old cock from Edinburgh—now we shall have something good." *

The following slightly abridged quotation gives the bishop's mode of reconciling the teaching of St. Paul and St. James on the subject of "works"—taken from Sermon IX. referred to by him in his note:—

"St. Paul is frequently quoted as not merely asserting justification by faith, but as denying justification by works; and therein denying that which St. James

* Letter to writer from Rev. Henry Malcolm, Dunblane.

affirms. And, in order to clear up this supposed discrepancy between two inspired writers, I must in the first place repeat—that the fundamental truth respecting justification, or the acquittal of the sinner from the guilt of his sins, is neither said by St. Paul to be *for* faith, nor by St. James to be *for* works, but is throughout the whole of the New Covenant declared to be *of grace*—that is to say, proceeds from the free grace of God, unmerited by anything that the sinner has done or can do either in the way of faith or of works. Faith, therefore, according to St. Paul, is only the means or instrument by which the sinner comes within the scope of the free grace; and, according to St. James, works have the same or a similar instrumental value or efficacy.” As to St. Paul’s repudiation of justification by works, there is no contradiction of St. James, “unless the works excluded by the one Apostle are identically the same as those” which the other holds to be “necessary to justification.” But “while both use the same terms, and apparently with the same meaning, for those ideas which in our Bibles are expressed by the words *justification* and *faith*, they do not attach the same meaning to the term *works*. For the works which St. Paul not merely denies to be the meritorious cause of justification, but even excludes from any connection with it, are by him styled not *works* simply, but *works of law*. The Jews, whose opinion respecting justification St. Paul combats in his Epistle to the Romans, meant by works of law, works done in obedience to the law of God—an obedience which they supposed might be as complete as that, in virtue of its merit, justification or acquittal might be obtained from God as a matter of right. Of this Jewish notion

of justification, we have a notable example in the prayer of the Pharisee, who, without any consciousness of defect and without any petition for pardon, thanked God that he was not a sinner like other men. Law, then, in Jewish phraseology, meant the whole preceptive part of Scripture, and works of law meant not obedience simply, but obedience performed with the intention of thereby obtaining a meritorious justification before God."

"St. James, on the other hand, speaks not of *works of law*, but of works simply. They are all works whereby Christian faith and the Spirit of holiness prove their presence and their action in the heart of the believer. And that this is the meaning of the term, we infer from the fact that St. James adduces the same example of works as that which St. Paul adduces to prove the justifying efficacy of faith. If Abraham was justified by works, we may with equal truth say with St. Paul that he was justified by faith, for we cannot, even in thought, separate faith from that act of which it was the very cause and spirit." *

* *Sermons*, p. 157 seq.

CHAPTER VI.

TAKES REFUGE FROM WORRY IN THE HIGHER MATHEMATICS
—MEMBER OF ROYAL SOCIETY, EDINBURGH—PROFESSOR
KELLAND'S ACCOUNT OF HIS ADDRESSES—READS EIGHT
PAPERS—A "PIONEER OF QUATERNIONS"—PAPER "ON
PROBABILITIES" HIS BEST CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE—
PAPERS ON "THE SUMMATION OF COMPOUND SERIES"—
"ALGEBRAICAL SYMBOLISM"—"PROBABLE INFERENCE"
—"THE AVERAGE VALUE OF HUMAN TESTIMONY," ETC.—
HIS PERSONAL CONNECTION WITH THE ACADEMICIANS—
HIS CONVERSATION—ANECDOTES, GOETHE—WHY HE
SETTLED IN SCOTLAND—LOCKHART—PROFESSOR PLAY-
FAIR—PRINCIPAL PIRIE AND PROFESSOR ROBERTSON—
HIS TWO CONTRASTED PUPILS—POPULAR PREACHERS—
ANECDOTE.

THERE is perhaps nothing that is known of Bishop Terrot which is so characteristic of him as his practice of taking refuge from toil and worry in the study of the higher mathematics. This practice he followed till late in life, in his very busiest days, and in the midst of the most distracting controversies. It exorcised the demon of controversy and brought peace to his mind when nothing else could. Absorbed in the depths of original research, the bishop found that which can, it is said, be always found in the depths of the ocean, viz., calm, in the midst of storm. "In them" (the mathematics), says his fellow academician, Professor Kelland, "when harassed by the cares and vexations incident to his position, he had recourse as a retreat from irritating thoughts. They were in him

strong enough to take possession of his mind, and soothing enough to settle it down to repose."

The bishop found in the Royal Society of Edinburgh, a very fitting arena for the exposition and discussion of his original speculations. He was a member of that society for fourteen years*—a councillor and a vice-president for great part of that time; and from 1845 to 1858 he read at least eight papers. Of these papers Dean Ramsay says, "Some of them discuss what may be considered the nicest and most intricate questions on which the human mind can be engaged, viz., the practical connection between the logical and the differential calculus, or the laws which regulate the principles not of mathematical reasoning only, but of mathematical conviction."

Professor Kelland gives an interesting account of the more important of the papers, in the memoir of the bishop which he delivered before his fellow Edinburgh academicians.

"Bishop Terrot contributed several papers to the *Transactions* of this society. The subjects treated of were: 'The Properties of Numbers,' 'The Square Roots of Negative Quantities as Symbols of Direction,' and 'The Theory of Probabilities.' To the papers on the second and third of these subjects, it may be permitted to make more than a passing allusion. In January 1847, he read to the society a paper entitled, 'An Attempt to Elucidate and Apply the Principles of Goniometry, as published by Mr. Warren in his *Treatise on the Square Roots of Negative Quantities*.' The subject here treated of had been floating somewhat dimly

*The writer believes that the period must have been at least sixteen years. In the winter of 1841-2, the writer attended a meeting of the society with the bishop's ticket.

before the eyes of mathematicians for half a century, and was just then beginning to assume a living form in the mind, and a living exponent—though a somewhat obscure one—in the writings of Sir William R. Hamilton. It was not until six weeks later that the doctrine of quaternions of the great master, as developed in his ‘Lectures,’ swallowed up in its vast amplitude all that had preceded it.” Terrot must therefore be considered one of the pioneers of the science. In the paper before us, he points out the applicability to plane trigonometry in all its parts, but he could see his way no further. Years after, when paralysis had laid him low, on being told that symbols of direction had been embodied by Sir William Hamilton into the full-grown science of quaternions, his delight was expressed in the form of thankfulness, that enough of life had been spared him to know that the dream of his early years had been realised, even though all power to comprehend it had passed away from him.

“In 1856,” Professor Kelland proceeds, “Bishop Terrot published in our *Transactions* a paper ‘On the possibility of combining two or more Probabilities of the same event, so as to form one definite Probability.’ This paper was his best contribution to science, and, in addition to its own excellence, it had the merit of having drawn forth the valuable paper of the late Professor Boole, ‘On the application of the Theory of Probabilities to the question of the combination of testimonies or judgments,’ to which the council of this society awarded the Keith medal in 1858. In this paper the conclusions of Bishop Terrot are confirmed, and a flood of new light is cast on the subject. It ought perhaps to be added that an extensive corre-

spondence between the bishop and Boole had preceded the publication of the papers in question, in which the bishop had steadily manifested an anxious desire both to promote the advance of science, and to aid Boole in his upward career. Selfish ends had no place in the bishop's mind."

In addition to those papers referred to by Professor Kelland, the bishop contributed the following to the *Transactions* of the society:—

"On the Summation of a Compound Series, and its Application to a Problem on Probabilities." (1853.)

"On Algebraical Symbolism." (1848.)

"An Attempt to compare Exact and Popular Estimate of Probability." (1849.)

"On Probable Inference." (1850.)

"On Average Value of Human Testimony." (1858.)

Professor Kelland adds some interesting reminiscences on the subject of his personal connection with the academicians. "For many years of his life," says the professor, "he was one of the regular attendants at our meetings, and when not actively engaged in the work going on he was an attentive listener, and, when occasion called for it, an unsparing critic. He had a real love for the society, and as he left the building for the last time he expressed himself to the effect, that henceforth his heart would be with us, but the work of his hands was done. The only part of our proceedings which he did not relish was the tea-drinking after the close of the meetings."

After quoting the testimony of Drs. Hannah and Fawcett as to the bishop's conversational powers (see Chap. VII.), Dr. Kelland says: "What the bishop was

in private life let others tell. Suffice it, that I venture a few brief and imperfect remarks on the impression he made on us as a member of our society. He was eminently conversational. He did not talk much, but he talked well. He had the faculty of saying powerful things in a few, pithy, pointed words, which always hit, and generally remained fixed in the mind. His humour was dry, even caustic, but neither personal nor ill-natured. His criticisms of authors were sometimes severe, but they were never meaningless.

“For example, of one of Goethe’s later works of fiction, which to ordinary minds appears wild and extravagant, Terrot was wont to say that Goethe, having during a long life imbibed incense from the worshippers of his genius, had in his old age become satiated. He accordingly gave the world what he knew to be worthless, in order that the admiration it should call forth might ascend direct to himself. This remark of the bishop’s, whatever it may be worth, will help us to get a faint glimpse of a prominent feature of his character as a man. This feature was dread for himself, and dislike in others, of appearing to assume that to which they had no just title—of seeking out the upper chambers—even of claiming a place to which the world at large would have raised no objection.

“This feeling rendered him sensitive as regarded himself, and critical in his remarks on others; but his judgments were tempered with so real an insight into character, so just an appreciation of all that was worthy, and were withal so free from the suspicion of envy or jealousy, that they never produced a rankling sore or gave rise to a bitter repartee.”

Professor Kelland concludes his notice by remarking

on "a circumstance" on which many of the bishop's friends often remarked :—"A circumstance in Terrot's life has often excited surprise on the part of his friends. Why did an Englishman of his remarkable talent choose from an early age, for the exercise of his profession, the narrow field of the Scottish Episcopal Church in preference to the far wider one of his own native land? No one has been found who can give an explanation; but we cannot doubt that had he chosen the Church of England, his abilities would, in a fair field, have commanded the same elevated position as that to which he attained in the sister Church of the North." It is most probable that the professor was not aware of the bishop's early connection with Scotland through his uncle William, and the various happy openings by which he was led on step by step till he had taken root in the land. Readers will probably take very different views of Bishop Terrot's occasionally ardent devotion to mathematical study. Some will think that whenever he had any spare time for investigation and research it ought to have been devoted exclusively to professional subjects, such as the theological and biblical problems of the day. Others will hold that the one study was a help rather than a hindrance to the other; the occasional subjection of the mind to the vigorous mathematical discipline being the best corrective of loose thinking and illogical reasoning. Those who take this view will believe that the bishop's addiction to mathematical research was an advantage to the Church as well as to himself; not only assuring him an occasional refuge from worry, but also maintaining in him that judicial frame of mind which never deserted him in the hottest controversies, and which extorted the admiration of his opponents. That

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the study of "the exact sciences" has a tranquillising effect on the mind has been noted by some of the acutest thinkers—for example, John Gibson Lockhart was an Edinburgh contemporary of the bishop. He was a most careful observer of habits and manners, and in his sketch of the eminent Professor Playfair he says: "It was a very pleasing thing to see this fine old Archimedes with his reposed demeanour. . . . There is something in the certainty and precision of the exact sciences which communicates a stillness to the mind, and which, by calling in our thoughts from their own giddy and often harassing sounds, harmonises our nature with the serenity of intellectual pleasure. The influence of such studies is well exemplified in the deportment of this professor."†

It is true that this beneficial study if pursued too ardently becomes injurious. In the case of a professional man it might encroach on valuable time, and interfere with the due discharge of duty. In any case, as happened to Darwin, it might deaden the mind to the humanising influence of literature, not to mention yet higher influences. So far as the writer knows and believes, no evil effect of either kind accrued in the bishop's case. Certainly he was not one who had "narrowed his mind" to the study of the dry bones of science. On the contrary, he was a decided "all-round man"—"*totus teres atque rotundus*." From what Dr. Hannah says, it is very probable that Sir William Hamilton and the bishop had occasionally an amicable encounter on the comparative merits of mathematics and logic. Whatever Sir William may have thought of the bishop's

† *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, vol. i., pp. 185-6, 3rd edition—Blackwood Edinburgh, 1819.

mathematics, he cannot but have respected his logic and also his literature.

Apparently the style of mathematician whom Sir William Hamilton deprecated was "the mere mathematician"—a mathematician with no other interests or resources, like the "mere antiquary," or even the "mere theologian." The writer recalls an interesting anecdote in point which he heard from a Doctor of Divinity of the Established Church.† The late Principal Pirie, of Aberdeen, was talking with Professor James Robertson, of Edinburgh University, about Sir William Hamilton. Professor Robertson had been mathematical bursar at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and with an evident reference to Robertson's mathematical reputation Dr. Pirie said:—"I believe Sir William thinks a mathematician rather a poor creature, doesn't he? Did he ever tell *you* that?" "Not with a personal application," was the happy rejoinder. No one who knew Bishop Terrot would ever have spoken slightly of mathematics "with a personal application" to *him*.

The only evil effect of the bishop's mathematics was probably a little intolerance of the loose talk and inconsequential reasoning which often prevail in general society; where men not wanting in sense or sound judgment, nevertheless, frequently go on carelessly drawing inferences from assumptions, and "undistributed middles." Doubtless it was this excess of logical rigour which made Terrot in his early days undertake the task of weighing the poets in the balance of "Common Sense." This it was that made him severe upon popular preachers and any persons or parties that dealt much in

† The late John Davidson, D.D., minister of Inverurie—an old and much valued friend of the writer.

outward display or an appeal to the emotions. This in society doubtless sometimes made him appear dry, caustic, and somewhat cynical. In preaching it made him appear wanting in fervour or "unction."

Dean Ramsay has some hesitation in coming out with the words, but he states that there were two things that the bishop said made society unpleasant and unprofitable—"humdrum and humbug." Again he says, "In fact, to speak it quite plainly, we might say he was almost too much in fear of humbug. There seemed to be in his mind almost a dread of results giving too much satisfaction to the world without." He seemed to think "that there must have been some sacrifices made of higher principles for the sake of gaining popularity. . . . And that to make popular and showy impressions upon society was inconsistent with logical and mathematical precision." In proof that the bishop took this view, the dean goes on to quote a contrasted account of two pupils of his (the bishop's), which he gave in a lecture delivered by him to the members of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution in the year 1855. The account, which is very striking, is as follows:—"I remember at an early period of life having the charge of two pupils—both what would be called clever, but whose tendencies to mental action were remarkably contrasted. The one, who had been very irregularly educated, had acquired, he hardly knew how or when, a competent knowledge of Latin, French, German, and Italian; and, as a manifestation of the same faculty, was remarkably fluent when discoursing in his mother-tongue. When he came to me, he was imperfectly acquainted with the rudiments of Greek grammar; at the end of six months he was reading with

facility the Greek tragedians. With all this, his reasoning faculties were much below par; and the inferences which he drew from his premises were often of a very strange and unexpected character. The other had no capacity for language. In attempting to translate a passage of Latin, he would stumble at a common word, and state, with perfect good faith, that he had never met with it before, till, by turning back a page, I showed him that it had occurred more than once in the lesson of yesterday. The same mental deficiency was shown in his use of his mother-tongue. He spoke with hesitation, seldom got the right word at the first trial, changed and corrected his expressions as he went on, till, to use a colloquial phrase, it was difficult to find out what he was after. But the confusion was altogether in the expression, not in the thought. He was an instinctive logician, and arrived at true conclusions by legitimate processes, more surely than any one of his age with whom I was so intimately acquainted."

The experience of these two pupils—each seemingly a somewhat extreme type of a well-known class—appears to have sunk deep into the bishop's mind. No doubt he had come into unpleasant contact with other weak reasoners of the fluent type. Anyhow he had come to look with suspicion and distrust upon men of this class, popular speakers, and especially popular preachers. To him the latter seemed to be often mere declaimers (rather than sound reasoners or sober faithful teachers) appealing almost entirely to the feeling, and careless as to how they applied scripture provided they could make what they thought a good impression upon their audience. The writer has a very distinct recollection of an anecdote, which he heard the bishop tell at his

own dinner-table, of such reckless misapplication. The thing happened at a public meeting in Edinburgh two or three years previously—held, so far as the writer remembers, in connection with the commemoration of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. The bishop's colleague in St. Paul's—Mr. (afterwards Archdeacon) Sinclair was at the meeting. After the delivery of a speech, by a perfervid orator, one of the promoters of the meeting said to Sinclair, "Wasn't that an eloquent speech?" "Yes," said Sinclair, "but did you ever hear a more portentous misapplication of a scripture text?" "True," replied his interlocutor, "but *it told*."

It is striking how completely his acute contemporary, Lockhart, agreed with the bishop in his estimate of "the popular sermon-makers of the day." After speaking of "the bold and pealing alarum of an unsparing (even should it be a rude) honesty," he proceeds: "How different from the eloquence of your white handkerchiefed whiners. Your ring-displaying, faltering, fawning, frothy weavers of pathetic periods. Your soft, simpering saints, from whose mouths the religion of the Bible falls diluted and dulcified like the meretricious moonlight burdens of an Irish melody! It is by the ministrations of these poor drawlers, that the Christian faith is degraded in the eyes of men, who are sharp enough to observe these superficial absurdities, but not wise enough to penetrate below its veil into its true and deep-placed majesty." *

* *Peter's Letters*, vol. iii., p. 77.

CHAPTER VII.

AS A TALKER—LOGIC AND MATHEMATICS—MEASURES, NOT MEN—THE COUNTESS OF MAR AND THE MODEL CLERGY-MAN—RETORT À LA SYDNEY SMITH—ARGUMENTATIVE RETORTS — INFREQUENT COMMUNION — “MY LORD” CALLS ON “THE LORD BISHOP OF EDINBURGH”—THE FANDANGO — JOHNSONIAN RETORTS — “SATAN IN HIS DOTAGE” — THE MAN WITH “AN EYE TO ANOTHER WORLD”—DECLAMATORY PREACHERS — THE SELF-COMPLACENT STUDENT—THE SCHOOL INSPECTOR—THE JEWISH TEACHER—THE IRISH BEGGAR—THE LADY AND THE PICTURES — THE CLERK’S POLITE RENDERING OF THE RESPONSE—LEANING TO RITUALISM—THE OXFORD M.A.—HIS ESSENTIAL KINDNESS OF HEART—LOVE OF CHILDREN—INSTANCE—MISTAKEN FOR A JEW—DRS. HANNAH AND FAWCETT ON HIS CONVERSATIONAL POWERS.

In the social circles of Edinburgh, the bishop had a very high reputation as a talker of the Johnsonian type. His talk certainly exhibited not a few of the best Johnsonian characteristics—precision of thought and language, ready wit, repartee and love of argument—all set off to advantage by a distinct voice and deliberate utterance. He was also almost as impatient as Johnson himself was of twaddle and of pretence—“humdrum and humbug”—and thus to weak reasoners and pretentious talkers he appeared to be, and doubtless sometimes was, severe and sarcastic. But to men of like mind with himself—deep and just thinkers and earnest talkers—his conversation was very highly prized, and his society much courted.

This fact is attested by such excellent judges as

Dean Ramsay and Dr. Hannah, Professor Kelland of Edinburgh, and Professor Sedgwick of Cambridge, the present Dean (Montgomery) of Edinburgh, and others. With such congenial companions as these the bishop took delight in discussing with zeal and earnestness the very deepest problems of human learning, both sacred and secular. Dr. Hannah went to Edinburgh in 1847 as headmaster of the classical Academy. He lived near the bishop, and of him he wrote (in a letter to Dean Ramsay): "His society was one of the chief pleasures of our life for many years after that time. Sir William Hamilton had just then caused some renewal of intercourse between Edinburgh and Oxford, and the bishop, to whom Oxford forms of thought were comparatively fresh and strange, showed the keenest interest in all that I could tell him of the philosophy then current in my own university. I have a great number of letters which he wrote to me at the time; for though we lived very near each other, he was not satisfied with our frequent conversations, but would constantly supplement them by long, written arguments. He was specially interested in the controversy on the relative value of logic and mathematics as disciplines of thought, and his Cambridge training made him a keen supporter of the mathematical party."

The bishop appears to have discussed these questions in private with his friends, much in the same manner as he discussed other profound problems in papers before the Royal Society. Dr. Hannah was a very acute and clever man, a foeman worthy of the bishop's steel. The latter told a friend of the writer, that Dr. Hannah was the only man in Edinburgh who "could (in a quiet way) put him down." Seemingly they were

pretty equally matched, and the explanatory letters, with which the conversations were followed up, witness to the earnestness of their wit-combats. No doubt many good things were said at those meetings; but most of the good things reported of the bishop appear to have been addressed to less learned and less critical auditors. They were generally launched against some prevailing folly or fallacy. It was not so much men that Terrot attacked, as measures—mistaken systems or theories.

There is a good instance of this needful distinction in one of the witty and caustic things which he said on a matter which was at the time regarded as the great reproach of the Church, viz., the inadequate stipends of the clergy, who were expected to be high thinkers but very* plain livers. The anecdote, as told on the best authority, is this:—The late Lady Mar, wife of the fifteenth earl, was anxious to obtain a clergyman for the church of Alloa, near her own residence, and called on Bishop Terrot to ask his help. He naturally asked her to describe the sort of clergyman she wished for. She said she wished for “a holy, earnest, learned man, and a good preacher.” “I know the very man that would suit you,” said the bishop. “O how delightful!” said the lady; “when can he come?” “But,” said the Bishop, “there is something else to be considered—what salary will you offer him?” “I think,” was the reply, “we might offer him a hundred pounds a year.” “A hundred pounds a year!” echoed the bishop; “why, the price of my man is one thousand!” No doubt the lady winced under this cutting sarcasm; but she knew it was directed not so much against her as against the vestry of Alloa, and the many other offending vestries in the country.

* Letter of Rev. Henry Malcolm, Dunblane—the bishop's son-in-law.

On the same subject the bishop said a yet wittier thing, on an occasion when there could be no doubt of the good humour with which it was spoken. The occasion was that of a clerical meeting of some sort at Aberdeen somewhere about the year 1850; and the caustic witticism was uttered at Bishop William Skinner's hospitable board. Sydney Smith's grim joke about the hospitable New Zealander and the missionary ["on the side board"] having been referred to, a clergyman (the late Mr. Farquhar of Pitscandly, the writer thinks) looked across the table to Bishop Terrot, and said, "Our people are not quite so bad as that, bishop—they don't eat us."

"No," growled the bishop, "if they did that they would *keep us in better condition!*"

The writer remembers as if it were a thing of yesterday the effect of this most witty rejoinder on the clergy present. There was no need of Sydney Smith's "surgical operation," or Charles Lamb's lengthened pause, to get it into their Scotch heads. And there can be little doubt that such sarcasms (which circulated freely) contributed largely to bring about the happy change which soon followed. The stipends of the clergy in the north at least are now more than double of what they were then, and in other respects there has been a corresponding improvement in their condition. They have better churches, better parsonages; in populous places they have schools; and if any one has a grievance to be redressed (especially if it be of a pecuniary nature), or a measure of progress to promote, the Representative Church Council is open to him: he has an opportunity every year of pleading his cause before the representatives of the whole Church, lay and clerical, in council assembled.

Dean Ramsay truly observes of the bishop's retorts, that they were sometimes "full of great force as arguments, as well as of acuteness in retort." This is generally the case with the witty rejoinders of men who are wise as well as witty. They are seldom mere fireworks, but rather "sparks from a working engine." As an example of this argumentative wit the dean gives the bishop's answer to the argument of a Presbyterian lady, who maintained that infrequent celebrations of the Lord's Supper tended more to edification than frequent; because, when it did come round, the infrequent ordinance was much more solemn. "Then," said the Bishop, "what would you say to an annual or a bi-annual Sabbath? The annual Sunday when it did occur would be a very solemn ordinance indeed!"

Equally forcible was the remark made to the Roman Catholic Bishop Gillis, who, in inviting the bishop to the funeral of Mr. Menzies of Pitfoddels, addressed him as "My Lord." "I observe," said Bishop Terrot, to his Roman brother, "that you style me 'My Lord.' I had always thought that the Church made bishops and that the Crown made lords!" In his dislike to the lordly title the bishop continued firm to the end. He went to call one day on his first coadjutor, who happened to be out at the time. "The Lord Bishop of Edinburgh," said the English footman, "is not in at present." "Then," was the reply, "please say to the Lord Bishop of Edinburgh, that Bishop Terrot called for him!"

Not without argumentative force also was the bishop's answer to a friend who quoted to him Dr. Muir the moderator's denouncement of a subscription ball for the benefit of the Royal Infirmary: "What! dance for the benefit of persons sick or writhing with pain!" "If it

would do the poor patients any good," said the bishop, "I would dance a fandango from one end of George Street to the other." Dancing was in itself innocent—if it did good it was not only permissible, but laudable. Two of the bishop's argumentative retorts—one of them made to Dean Ramsay—have a decidedly Johnsonian neatness and force. One of them refers to the "spirit medium" craze which made such a sensation thirty or forty years ago, and through the agency of which some very weak and frivolous communications were alleged to have been received from the other world. Bishop Terrot unhesitatingly denounced the whole system as an imposture. But, it was urged, you can't deny the existence of Satanic agency—"If this is the work of Satan," said the bishop, "it is of Satan in his dotage!"

The other retort—made to Dean Ramsay himself—recalls one of the happiest sarcasms in Boswell's *Johnson*. The dean says: "I recollect once saying in mitigation of some deserved censure passing upon a very doubtful character, that I thought the man had an eye to another world as well as to this—'Well,' said the bishop, 'he gives fair play to both; first come, first served.'" This is quite in the style of Topham Beauclerc's retort to the man who defended a shady friend by saying that he had "good principles." "Then," said Beauclerc, "he doesn't wear them out in practice!"

Bishop Terrot had a sort of Carlylean horror of shams. Unreality, insincerity, or pretence in any shape or form, elicited from him sharp and cutting condemnation. The severest things which are reported of him owe their origin to this feeling. Anything like display in the pulpit—a preacher's bursts of eloquence to set forth not his Maker's glory but his own—he could not

tolerate. "I recollect," says Dean Ramsay, "a showy pulpit orator of the vainest school of popular preaching coming to Edinburgh. Dr. Terrot could not look upon this sort of thing with favour, whilst he considered it as an *unreality* and too much of a show-off. So when the clergyman who invited him to Edinburgh was enlarging upon his eloquence, and added rather naively, 'he had wonderful bursts of eloquence and of beauty, although I admit much of his discourse was common-place enough,' Dr. Terrot slyly remarked, 'Well, I should have been disposed to say that the common-place was his own, and "the bursts" he got from other people.'

The dean gives another specimen of the bishop's rebuke of conceit—which he speaks of as an instance of "quiet good-humour towards a little simple self-opinion." "I recollect," he says, "a young student at the University, who contributed to a newly-established magazine amongst the undergraduates, saying to the bishop, on the publication of his work on the *Romans*, rather grandly, 'I have your book under my hand for an article.' 'Well, my dear sir,' replied the bishop, 'as you are strong, I hope you will be merciful.'"

This "quiet" rebuke recalls Sydney Smith's rebuke of the over-familiar youth, who, after repeatedly addressing him as "Smith," said he was going to call on the Archbishop of Canterbury. "Well, then, my dear sir, don't call him Howley," said Sydney.

Consistently with his dislike of pretension in others, the bishop usually underrated his own attainments and claims and would not appear other than he was. He would not simulate an interest even in things laudable to please an honest enthusiast. He once shocked an ardent educationist by declining to preside at the

examination of a school in which the latter took great interest—saying, “I like a scholar, and I like a good dinner, but I don’t care to frequent the place where either of them is cooked.”

The writer has before him a letter of the bishop (or dean, as he then was), written to Bishop Walker, regarding a recommendation of the Brechin Synod for the revision of the Canons preparatory to the General Synod of 1838—in which he says, “I am against all high requirements for candidates for orders. When in our Synod they recommended the study of Hebrew, I told them that in that case they must get somebody else to examine, as I professed to know nothing of the matter.” Here was undoubted exaggeration of his ignorance. He did know something of Hebrew, as appeared from an anecdote which the writer heard him tell in the theological class. Referring to the “unpronounceable name” (Jehovah), he said his Hebrew teacher, who was a Jew, was so afraid lest he (Terrot) should in reading pronounce that name, that whenever it occurred “he took the word out of his mouth,” and himself read instead of Jehovah, *Adonai*, or *Elohim*. This proved that the bishop had learned to read Hebrew; but like so many others he probably had ceased to read it when he ceased to have the help of a master, and thus never attained to such a mastery of the language as would, in his own opinion, have warranted him in “professing to know” it.

The bishop had no hesitation in repeating anecdotes which told or seemed to tell against himself. No doubt he was himself the dignitary in the story, which he used to tell of the sharp retort of an Irish beggar, who accosting said dignitary, and making a very free use of the sacred name, besought an alms. The dignitary

refused to give anything but an advice, viz., not to take God's name in vain. "And is it *in vain* that I have taken it?—and if so, whose fault is it?"

At Lord Dudley's Gallery of the Early Masters, a lady remarked that she could not see the beauties of those old pictures till they were pointed out to her. "Madam," said the bishop, "you have the advantage of me, for *I* cannot see them when they *are* pointed out."*

He used to tell a story of his clerk at Haddington, who considerably disconcerted him by an impromptu improvement upon his and the Prayer Book's diction. He was churching the Countess of Wemyss, and when he repeated the versicle "Lord save this woman, Thy servant!" the clerk responded, "Who putteth her ladyship's trust in Thee!"

The bishop would have been the last man to adopt any extreme practices in ritual. Yet some of the elderly members of his flock at St. Paul's greatly feared lest he might be carried away by the prevailing movement, and they kept a strict watch over him. On one occasion, an "advanced" English clergyman officiated in St. Paul's, and, amongst other unaccustomed observances, repeatedly crossed himself during the service. The congregation were greatly offended; and next day an old lady, a great friend of the bishop, called on him, and gave fervid expression to the general excited feeling, and to her own earnest hope and belief that *he* would never countenance such a practice as crossing. The bishop had no hesitation in giving the lady the fullest assurance on the point, and he added, "I am so careful

This anecdote is told in a letter to Mr. Malcolm by Mr. C. P. Terrot, Washington; a member of the English branch of the family, who was probably present on the occasion.

on this point, that I never even cross my legs in a drawing-room."

Some time afterwards, however, another lady thought she detected her circumspect pastor in a stealthy observance of the practice. A friend meeting the bishop a few days afterwards told him that Mrs. Blank was going about saying he had crossed himself during the service on Sunday last. The bishop was somewhat taken aback at first, and said, "What can the woman have seen?" After a little reflection, however, he exclaimed, "*I have it*—she has seen me taking snuff!" Like the great Napoleon, the bishop was reported to keep a supply of snuff in his vest-pocket for use on critical occasions; and the motions of his hand in transferring a pinch to its destination, no doubt resembled those of a hand making the sign of the cross. The bishop used to say that he learnt the habit of snuff-taking at Cambridge, and found it serviceable in keeping him awake, when, in addition to the prosecution of his own studies, he read for the benefit of a fellow-student of weak eyes.

The bishop was too fair-minded an Anglican Churchman to refuse to tolerate much which he did not himself teach or practise. But doubtless, in private, he sometimes galled the upholders of the new views and practices by his scorching wit. He and they were perhaps ill-fitted to do justice to each other. The bishop told a friend of the writer that he felt as if he needed an additional faculty of mind to comprehend the metaphysical reasonings of the Oxford men on questions of deep mystery; and that, after an interview with one of them, he had to go back to mathematics, in order to restore his mental equilibrium! These gentlemen, on the other hand, spoke of the bishop as being

“without heart”; and one of the leaders of the Oxford movement applied to him the epithet which Tertullus applied to St. Paul,* and there was probably about as much truth and justice in the application of the epithet to the bishop as to the Apostle.

The writer can add his own humble testimony to the witness of distinguished contemporaries as to Bishop Terrot’s “essential” kindness of heart. As a student under him, the writer was the recipient of many acts of considerate and thoughtful kindness. The bishop’s goodness of heart could no more be concealed than his truthfulness and fairness of mind—nay, it often gleamed through his bantering or sarcastic manner.

Probably, to most minds, a conclusive refutation of the charge that the bishop wanted “heart” was his love of children. “With him,” says Dean Ramsay, “that feeling was quite a passion. It always gave him great delight to have children about him. He never wearied of listening to their innocent prattle and marking their ways. He entered into their little distresses, and sympathised in their little pleasures. A feeling of this kind is perhaps better illustrated by a familiar anecdote than by long and formal description. I may, therefore, introduce a story which has been long known to many friends of the bishop. He was travelling in a public conveyance, when a woman entered with a child in her arms. The poor baby cried piteously, and the mother, who knew the bishop personally, endeavoured to quiet it, to prevent his being annoyed by the child. Wearied at last with anxiety and fatigue, the woman fell fast asleep. On waking she missed her child, and looked anxiously about to see what could

Acts xxiv. 5: “We have found this man a pestilent fellow.”

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have become of it. She soon saw her child quietly reposing in the arms of the bishop, who had taken it when he saw that the mother was asleep." *

Bishop Terrot used to say that he had been at least twice by Jews mistaken for a Jew—once when travelling by coach through England, and once when listening in the House of Lords to a debate on the bill for the emancipation of the Jews. On the latter occasion, a Jewish gentleman came up to him and said in a mutually congratulatory tone, "Our case looks well to-day!"

It was impossible not to be struck with the unmistakably Jewish cast of the bishop's features, and many persons took it for granted that the family was—more or less remotely—of Jewish extraction. This was the belief of Bishop William Skinner, from whom the writer first heard of the bishop having been mistaken for a Jew.

Dr. Hannah, one of his most intimate friends, testifies of him that he rejoiced in conversation, and never tired of it so long as, to use his own phrase, "the talk was good"; that with the keenness of his wit, and the quickness of his repartee, he united toleration and good nature. And Dr. Fawcett, who knew him when a medical student in Edinburgh, says, "His manner was short and abrupt, but he was always spicing it with something good." †

* Memoir in *Scottish Guardian*, May 15th, 1872.

† Professor Kelland's Memoir.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEATH OF MRS. TERROT, 1855—BISHOP RE-MARRIES, 1859—AGAIN LEFT A WIDOWER, 1862—SAME YEAR HAS A SHOCK OF PARALYSIS—HIS DAUGHTER'S ACCOUNT OF HIS LATTER DAYS—HAS A SECOND SHOCK (SEPTEMBER, 1865)—THEREAFTER ONLY A WRECK OF HIS FORMER SELF—DEAN RAMSAY ON HIS CONDITION—REST CAME AT LAST ON TUESDAY IN EASTER WEEK, 1872—FUNERAL, OBITUARY NOTES—UNANIMITY OF SENTIMENT—THE *SCOTSMAN*—MR. GLADSTONE—DEAN STANLEY—PROFESSOR SEDGWICK—DEAN MONTGOMERY—POETICAL TRIBUTES TO HIS MEMORY BY HIS DAUGHTER, MRS. MALCOLM, AND MR. DAVENPORT ADAMS.

BISHOP TERROR's closing years exemplify to the letter the Psalmist's account of man's mortal estate in advanced life. Till he reached the threescore and ten, the bishop enjoyed fairly good health and strength of body and mind, and discharged with efficiency all his important duties, both episcopal and pastoral. When he reached the allotted limit, however, he was struck down by a severe shock of paralysis; and though he rallied for a time, and his strength of constitution was so "great" as to enable him to "come to fourscore years," yet at best his strength then was but "labour and sorrow." Trials and troubles indeed fell thickly upon him in his latter days.

In the year 1855 (September 9th), he lost the wife of his youth and the mother of his children—a loss by which, as the writer was assured by a friend who attended the funeral—he was most deeply affected. Four years

afterwards (1859) he formed another happy union with a widowed lady, Mrs. Charlotte Madden. In less than three years (February, 1862) he was again left a widower. Ten years of life yet remained to him; but they were years of weakness and suffering.

“After Mrs. Terrot’s death in February, 1862,” says Miss Elizabeth Louisa Terrot,* the bishop’s daughter, “my father returned to live with us, so shaken and frail we little thought he had yet ten years of life before him. But soon his natural cheerfulness was restored, and also his wish for and power of employment, to such an extent that after three years’ silence he resumed preaching in St. Paul’s, and in every respect adapted his habits to his semi-invalid state, and found new enjoyments in the same. Still the scourge of paralysis showed insidious progress in his increasing lameness and weariness after exertion. In September, 1865, came the second stroke, after which he never walked, and gradually he became more and more helpless. He was painfully conscious of the cloud of mental depression and confusion which gathered on him then, and thenceforth was too heavily burdened to take abiding interest in Church matters. Yet during the seven years that followed there were many intervals when the cloud was lifted, and he would listen hour after hour to reading, and welcome the visits of intimate friends, especially those of his grandchildren and other little ones. And even during the three last sad years, when the tyranny of shattered nerves seemed complete, an appeal to his sense of humour or to his justice had often power to recall him to himself.

“When first the dread of ‘losing the reins,’ as he expressed it, fell on him he broke through his usual

* In a communication to the present writer.

reserve into an audible prayer that he might never say a word dishonouring to his faith in God. That prayer was fully answered; and the assurance thereof was given to us a few weeks before his death. While we were longing for his deliverance, by some divine touch his spirit asserted itself above the ruins of mind and body, and his former beautiful voice rang out the words, 'I *will* die as a Christian!'

Very plainly the bishop found in the last seven years that life protracted was protracted woe. Both in body and mind he was but a wreck of his former self. The occasional lucid intervals only made the general depression and gloom of the once bright and active mind the more marked and oppressive. Not only his own near relatives, but his many friends felt keenly for his sad condition; but they could only hope and pray for "relief." Dean Ramsay, who was himself only two or three years his junior, and who died in the same year, wrote thus (Aug. 26, 1867) to Dr. Lindsay Alexander:—"I can calmly contemplate the approach of the last hour. But I confess I do shrink from encountering an undefined period of bodily and mental imbecility; of being helpless, useless, a burden. I have been so distressed to see this come upon our bishop—Dr. Terrot, the once clear, acute, *sharp*, and ready man. Oh, it is to my mind the most terrible affliction of our poor nature!" Release came at last in Easter week, 1872. On Tuesday, April 2nd, the bishop breathed his last. Then it was shown that though long out of sight he had never been out of mind. Though dead to the World and to the Church, both the Church and the World had him in lively remembrance, and paid to his memory very sincere and hearty tributes of respect.

On Tuesday, April 9th, the bishop's remains were conveyed to his much-loved St. Paul's, York Place, where a "large and reverent congregation" was assembled, "all suitably attired in black," to render the last tribute of respect to their faithful pastor. The service in church was marked by several features of unusual solemnity and impressiveness.

After the opening sentences, the choir sang the following hymn composed by the late bishop himself:—

Short is man's appointed hour
As the blooming of a flower ;
Like the grass that lives a day
In his prime and his decay.

Chilling winds or heats of noon
Wither all his beauty soon ;
And the place it decked before
Knows its leaves and flowers no more.

Such is man—but God is true,
Servants of the Lord, to you ;
He for you hath laid in store
Life and joy for evermore.

This portion of the service was concluded by the singing of an original hymn, by the Rev. I. Gregory Smith, set to music by Professor Oakeley, who presided at the organ during the whole service. Then the procession, with Colonel Terrot, the bishop's son, and the Rev. Henry Malcolm, his son-in-law, as chief mourners, moved slowly to the Calton Hill Cemetery, where the interment took place. The service at the grave was concluded by the singing of the hymn "Rock of Ages."

In the obituary notices which appeared, there was a wonderful unanimity of sentiment as to the character and powers of the departed prelate. The *Scotsman*

speaking for the general public, and Professors Kelland and Sedgwick for the *savants*; Dean Ramsay and (the present) Dean Montgomery speaking for the clergy, all held substantially the same language. What Dean Ramsay and Professor Kelland thought of their departed friend, has been abundantly shown in this memoir; it will be seen how fully other competent authorities agreed with them. The *Scotsman* said of him: "He possessed intellectual qualities which are rarely found in combination. He was profound in the higher mathematics. He was as great in the classics as in the mathematics, and he had a pregnant wit, that played its part visibly in conversation, whether it was about mere social trifles or the learning of the schools. He was a man of a sincere and earnest purpose, but this was known only to his intimates, for it was his humour to present a sarcastic and cynical front to the world. He was an admirable story-teller, especially when he had witnessed the event narrated."

The *Scotsman* cites, amongst other instances of the bishop's cynical or sarcastic remarks, his well-known answer* to a somewhat enthusiastic educationist, who asked him to preside, or at least to be present, at a school examination. The writer may be mistaken, but by him the bishop's supposed cynicism has always been regarded as, so to speak, the negative pole of his love of children and of the poor—the attraction of nature and simplicity generating a repulsion for cant, unreality, and pretension. As every man has "the defects of his qualities," it was only to be expected that the bishop should sometimes exhibit in society an excess of impatience of "humdrum and humbug." If this was a

* See last Chapter.

failing, it was certainly one that "leant to virtue's side," tending to clear and purify the social air.

In the obituary notices of the time, due expression was given to the general belief of those who knew him best, that the bishop was greater in *posse* than in *esse*. The writer has a lively recollection of one weighty letter or article to this effect, written by an Edinburgh man living abroad, of which, however, he has not preserved a copy or reference. But the general view is well put by Mr. Gladstone in a letter to Dean Ramsay (May 26, 1872). Mr. Gladstone had "read with much interest" the Dean's "graceful and kindly memoir of Bishop Terrot," and, he says, "he had always appeared to me as a very real and notable, and therefore interesting man, though, for some reason not apparent, a man *manqué*—a man who ought to have been more notable than he was. I quite understand and follow you in placing him with, or rather in, the class of Whately and Paley, but he fell short of the robust activity of the first and of the wonderful clearness of the other, which is actual brightness."

Dean Stanley had not apparently had any personal acquaintance with the bishop as Mr. Gladstone had; but he had heard him preach, and heard him too as "gladly" as the London lawyers are said to have done. "I once heard him preach," says the Dean,* "and still remember with pleasure the unexpected delight it gave to my dear mother and myself. We did not know in the least what was coming either from the man or the text, and it was excellent."†

There are probably no records or reminiscences of a

* Letter to Dean Ramsay, May, 1872.

† Dean Ramsay's *Reminiscences*, Ed. 26, p. lii.

man that can equal in interest or value the last words spoken of him by the familiar friend of his early days, or the trusted and intimate friend of his closing years.

The eminent Professor Sedgwick, who, as a B.A., welcomed the youthful Terrot as a freshman to Cambridge, and outlived him for two or three years, thus wrote to Dean Ramsay in acknowledging receipt of the latter's memoir:—

“Trinity Coll., Cam., May 23, 1872.”

“Great was the interest, and once or twice great was the emotion which I felt while I was reading your biographical pages. The man himself, with his cheerful humour, his occasional sparkling wit, his kind engaging manner, his truthfulness and sincerity, the simple, gentle flow of his Christian love, seemed all to be brought before me, and grateful am I to you for raising such pictures before my mind. . . . I knew him as an intelligent undergraduate almost from the day he became a member of Trinity College. He was the personal friend of several with whom I was intimate, and though I had taken my B.A. degree before he was entered a freshman, that difference of standing set up no barrier between us, and it was one of the joys of my early life to count him as one of the friends who were near my heart.”

The present Dean of Edinburgh, the Very Rev. J. F. Montgomery, is probably of all the bishop's surviving friends—outside his own family—the highest authority as to his true character in the evening of his days. He says,* “Bishop Terrot was a man whom to know well was to love. Those who knew him but slightly were often afraid of him. He had a deep dislike to anything in the nature of humbug or pretence, and his ironical,

* Letter to present writer, May 4, 1891.

sarcastic answers, when he met with anything of the kind, often led to a false estimate of his character. He was really a most kind-hearted man—one who might be consulted in any difficulty with the certainty of ready sympathy and extremely sound advice. The neatness with which he touched the point of a difficulty, and in a few words cleared it up, was very noticeable. He had a deep caring for the poor; and I have always looked upon him as the leader in Edinburgh of the efforts to bring the blessings of the Church within reach of the poor. At a time when the missionary spirit was almost dormant, he induced his own congregation (St. Paul's) to build a church in the south-side of the town, and to pay the stipend of the clergyman until it could shift for itself.

“He had a very strong idea of duty—as a rule for himself and as the measure of what he claimed from others. Perhaps this feeling made him less able to deal with a case like Mr. Drummond's than might have been expected from so clear-sighted a man.* . . . I have a vivid recollection of many pleasant talks upon every conceivable subject, in which the treasures of a highly cultivated mind were brought forth without the slightest affectation of superiority, and, at the same time, the humility of a Christian disciple was shown. Though an old man and a bishop while I was a young man and his curate, he would discuss texts and passages of Scripture as if we were fellow-learners working together. He was one whom I deeply loved and honoured.”

The Dean adds,† “Though he was quick to discover the weak points in characters, I never heard him utter an angry or unkind word; and it was very touching to observe in confidential intercourse how his keen and highly

* See note at end of this chapter. † Letter of May 11, 1891.

cultured mind rested upon the simple truths of Christian doctrine."

The bishop's demise evoked some worthy tributes of respect in verse as well as in prose. The following lines are from the pen of his daughter Mary—Mrs. Malcolm :—

Sad, silent, broken-down, longing for rest,
His noble head bent meekly on his breast,
Bent to the bitter storm that o'er it swept ;
I looked my last, and, surely, then I thought,
Surely the conflict's o'er, the battle's fought :
To see him thus, the Saviour might have wept.

His rest was near—his everlasting rest—
No more I saw him weary and opprest :
There in the majesty of death he lay,
For ever comforted. I could not weep.
He slept, dear Father ! his everlasting sleep,
Bright in the dawn of the eternal day.

And then, whose hand *his* grasping sought at last,
The faithful hand, that he might hold it fast ?
Once more when parting on the eternal shore,
It may be, when thy heart and hand shall fail,
Entering the shadows of death's awful vale,
His hand shall grasp thine, groping then no more.

The following is from the pen of the then Editor of the *Scottish Guardian*, the late versatile and accomplished Davenport Adams :—

Life's struggle past,
We bring the weary pilgrim to his rest,—
His palms in meekness folded on his breast,
And all about him cast

The snowy shroud
Of those pure robes which he so purely wore ;
Robes which our patriarch shall need no more,
Now that amid the cloud

Of witnesses,
In purer garments far, he stands arrayed ;
A deathless crown upon his brow displayed,
While angel-voices bless

The well-proved saint,
Whose work on earth was all so bravely wrought ;—
He of the stainless soul and lofty thought,
Whose heart would never faint,

Nor courage quail,
When to the front the Church her soldier called ;—
Never by ghostly enemies appalled,
His spirit could not fail !

So lay him down !
His be the memory, ever true and fond ;
His be the victor's palm branch, and, " beyond,"
His be the victor's crown !

And may it be,
O saintly prelate ! when *our* task is o'er,
That *we* too pass to that Eternal Shore
In peace and calm, like thee.

NOTE TO CHAPTER III.

Dr. Teape has sent the writer some additional notes which have come to hand too late for insertion *in extenso*. It appears that in Terrot's days, the Synod dinners at Edinburgh were as pleasant as those of Aberdeen used to be fifty years ago. Apparently Bishop Terrot ranged the country clergy and the town clergy in alternate places at table, and the effect appears to have been excellent. "The flow of conversation and of telling anecdote will never be forgotten by those present." "At this period the black gown was used in preaching, and 'Protestant Episcopal' was the name of our Church."

Dr. Teape dwells at length on the bishop's kindness and consideration for his clergy—his care and success in catechising, and the sound and scriptural character of his teaching.

*NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII.**THE DRUMMOND CASE.*

There is no doubt much truth in Dean Montgomery's remark (p. 186) that Bishop Terrot's "very strong idea of duty made him less able to deal with a case like Mr. Drummond's than might have been expected from so clear-sighted a man." The remark harmonises with Dean Ramsay's averment that the bishop's mind was "more judicial than episcopal."

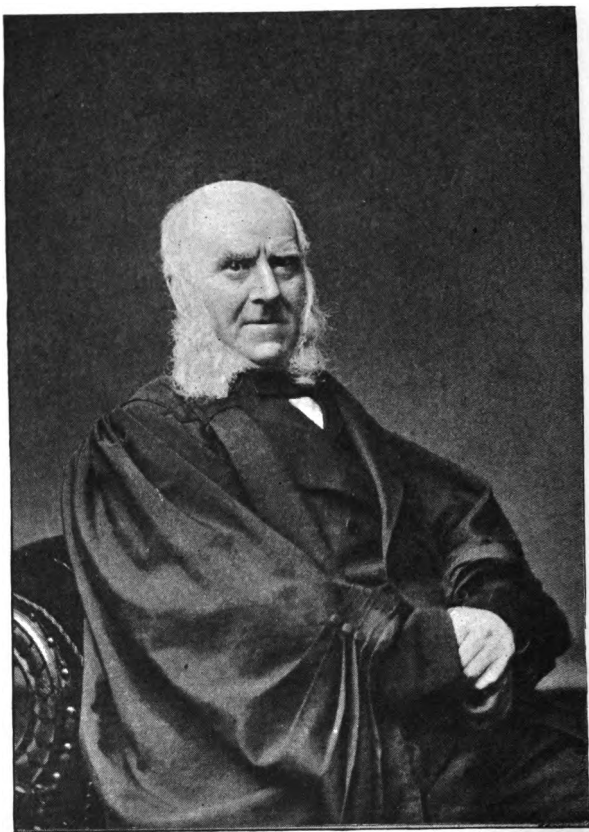
It was unfortunate that such a case should have occurred at the time. At the present day Churchmen of all classes would probably agree in two things:—First, that the practice objected to in Mr. Drummond's case ought not to have been forbidden by canon. Secondly, that nevertheless, as the practice was held to be so forbidden by the ordinary, the ordinary's decision should have been complied with in the first instance at least. It might have been reversed on appeal, or the canon might have been repealed. There was no great principle at stake.

A reference to the correspondence that passed between the parties on the occasion will show the truth of the reports that

were current at the time, viz., that the bishop took up the case with great reluctance, and only after his attention had been called to the irregular practice by influential Churchmen of the straiter sect—and further that he would have been satisfied with a very moderate concession to canonicity on the part of Mr. Drummond. It cannot be said that his interposition was received in a conciliatory spirit; and when once opposition arose, the logician and the mathematician emerged. The following extract from Letter III. is characteristic:—"You ask me concerning six different practices, of which I have never heard before (except one, the sacramental meeting at St. James's), whether I consider them as prohibited by Canon XXVIII. Permit me to say that this is a very bad way of getting through business. I object to one act, and ask you for information, as to whether my representation of the act is correct; and you reply by asking my opinion of six other acts, which I never referred to. When I am convinced that they are infringements of the canon I shall notice them as such. Till then I must decline pronouncing any opinion upon them," &c.*

* *Correspondence between the Right Rev. C. H. Terrot and the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond.* Edinburgh, John Lindsay & Co., 1842, p. 13.

DR. GRUB.



PROFESSOR GRUB.

DR. GRUB.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS—ADVANTAGES—ANECDOTES: THE SOCIAL MEETING, THE PICTURE — UNIVERSITY — EARLY TASTE FOR LITERATURE, ESPECIALLY HISTORY—ADOPTS THE LAW AS A PROFESSION—PASSES AS AN ADVOCATE—APPOINTED LIBRARIAN OF THE SOCIETY, THEN LECTURER ON SCOTS LAW AND CONVEYANCING—OBTAINS MODERATE SHARE OF PRACTICE.

“There’s an old University town, betwixt the Don and the Dee,
Looking over the grey sand dunes, looking out on the cold North Sea.”

GEORGE GRUB was born in the year 1812, on April 4th (St. Ambrose’s day), in the “old University town,” or city of Aberdeen, within a stone’s-throw of the Crown tower of King’s College. This was one great advantage, which he turned to the best account. He had one or two other advantages. He had good and pious parents, and he was their only child. To some children the latter might have been no advantage at all, but the reverse; not so to him. He could not be spoiled, and he enjoyed “the total sum” of his parents’ love and care.

The Grub family appears to have been connected with Old Aberdeen for a long period of years, and the head of the family had usually some such municipal handle to his name as Bailie, Convener, or Dean of Guild. The

writer had the pleasure of knowing the professor's father, who was known as "Convener Grub." He was a most worthy man, of superior ability and intelligence. He was particularly well-read in Church questions, ever ready to explain and defend his principles, and skilful at thrust and parry. The writer has often recalled a lively scene witnessed by him, in which the spirited convener's fluency of address and readiness of retort greatly impressed him. It was in the winter or spring of 1842-43, at the first or the second of the social meetings of St. Andrew's congregation, Aberdeen. It was an evening meeting. There was a supper, followed up by speeches and songs, mostly in the lively and humorous style. It was a very representative meeting; there were members from all grades of society. Three or four of the city magnates—the Haddens, Piries, and Crombies—made speeches and sang songs. As a friendly social gathering the meeting was a decided success. But then it was a social gathering, "and it was nothing more." Being a congregational meeting, Mr. Grub thought it *ought* to be something more. It ought to be turned to account for the promotion of Church objects; suggestions should be made, schemes discussed, subscriptions solicited. He made an earnest speech to this effect. His zeal and earnestness received ample recognition, but the feeling of the meeting was decidedly averse to the entertainment of the proposal. The chief objection was the incongruity of business and pleasure; but Mr. Grub evidently thought some of the objectors were actuated by less worthy motives. One elderly gentleman sitting near the writer shouted out in an authoritative tone, "It requires consideration." "It always does that, bailie," retorted Mr. Grub, "when it touches the pocket!" The

bailie had the reputation of being very careful of his money, and so this pat retort told. In those days a little excess of zeal was very excusable. The Church's "needs and duties" had to be urged somehow "in season or out of season."

Dr. Grub used to recall with manifest pleasure the fact that his father was present in Bishop Skinner's Long Acre Church on the evening of the day on which Dr. Seabury was consecrated as the first bishop of America. Dr. Seabury preached, and the youthful Non-juror was struck with the energy and animation of his delivery, as contrasted with that of the demure and staid native clergy, noting especially his waving a white handkerchief.

Between father and son there prevailed a most refreshingly mutual feeling of affection and regard, which, however, was usually manifested by deeds rather than by words. On the last occasion, however, on which the writer saw him, the father spoke out. When the writer congratulated him on his son's rising reputation and the excellent work that he was doing for the Church and for history, the old man said:—"All that is very gratifying—I rejoice in it; but to me it is as nothing compared with his kindness of heart, his ever-thoughtful care and attention. To me he is all that a son could be."

Two years ago (June 14th, 1890), when his own health was breaking down, Dr. Grub told the writer that on the previous evening, a little after the servant had left the spot, his father's heavily-framed portrait fell down with a great crash, doing considerable damage both to itself and the furniture. The doctor thought of Archbishop Laud's picture falling from the wall some time before that ill-fated primate's tragical end, and said, "*Absit omen.*" It seemed to the writer that though the doctor

did not exactly regard the incident as ominous, he was, nevertheless, more troubled by it than he would have been by the fall of any other man's portrait in his house at that time.

Like many clever boys in those days before the standard was raised, George Grub entered the university at a very early age; he was only thirteen-and-a-half years old. This premature entrance, doubtless, goes far to account for the fact that he took comparatively little interest in the severer studies of the course—mathematics, physics, and metaphysics. As his manner was, however, he sometimes exaggerated greatly his deficiencies in these branches. When his friend Mr. (now Dr.) Hart, of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, was first in this country, he spent a day (which he marked with a white stone) with Dr. Grub. It was, in fact, a visit which gave great pleasure to both host and guest. Mr. Hart held at that time the chair of mathematics in his college. Referring to Mr. Hart's visit, the present writer asked Dr. Grub some questions as to the course of study at Hartford College; and, in particular, whether he had ascertained how far Professor Hart carried his students in the higher branches of mathematics. "Oh, I never asked," was the reply; "we said very little about mathematics. I merely said to him," he continued, "I think I can go as far in your subject as the Rule of Three!"

From certain of his tastes in after years, the writer used to think that in the fourth class Mr. Grub must surely have taken an interest in mental science, and that in his case "physic of metaphysic" might "ask defence." But on putting the question to him a year or two before his death he said that he had not done so, but added that, nevertheless, to him—the fourth or

moral philosophy class was very far from having been barren or unprofitable. "Professor Scott," he said, "taught me to write." In those days, the fourth class had for subject three or four different subjects "rolled into one"—mental and moral philosophy, logic, and English literature. With the exception of logic, to which comparatively short time was devoted, these subjects were all taught well and carefully, though not exhaustively. Students who took a lively interest in any one of them learnt enough to guide and stimulate them to further study and research. In those days there were no options at the university. The student had to make his option, and to pursue his studies by himself as best as he could after he had gone out into the world. Mr. Grub's option was literature in general—history in particular. He had a love for literature; a passion for history. Poetry and theology also deeply interested him. By the time that the writer first met him he had read very widely in all these branches of English literature, and also to no mean extent in the classics, and in one or two of the chief modern languages. Almost invariably he read with a purpose, and what he read he retained. He lost no time in choosing a profession, and that which he chose (law) was one well-fitted to strengthen in him the sense of order and purpose. Soon after taking his degree, he entered the office of Mr. Alexander Allan, advocate, Aberdeen, "under whom he served the apprenticeship required by the Society of Advocates."

To understand how speedily and thoroughly he mastered the thorny subject of law, one has only to note the early age at which he was appointed to the chief offices of trust connected with the profession. In 1836 he passed as an advocate, and commenced the

practice of his profession. Five years afterwards (1841) he was appointed librarian to the Society, with chambers and a clerk. Two years afterwards (1843) he was appointed "Lecturer on Scots Law and Conveyancing at Marischal College, which was practically the only School of Law in the city." These appointments, both of which grew in importance and value, and which he held for fifty years, were admirably suited to Mr. Grub's tastes and habits. He was teacher of law, and guardian—mostly, it seems, selector also—of the lawyers' books, legal and other. From the first also he had a fair amount of practice—apparently about as much as he cared to have. On one of his last visits to Monymusk, he told the writer that his college friend, Mr. Murdoch, of Huntly, who was not himself an "advocate," supplied him in the early years of his practice with business enough to keep him going. His brother-in-law and "friend of seventy years," Dean Webster, says Mr. Grub might have had an extensive practice if he had desired it. The Dean knew of two offers which were made to him at different times, either of which, if accepted, would have brought him a great increase of business—one, the offer of partnership in a flourishing firm, the other, an offer of lucrative but uncongenial legal work.

To a man of Mr. Grub's keenly conscientious character, the care of a large business would have appeared altogether incompatible with the continuance of his law lectures and his literary labour. In fact, he was, as will be seen, the only one of the four or five young Aberdeen advocates who in "the thirties" began to shed light on northern history, northern antiquities, and archæology, and who stuck to his profession. All the rest speedily abandoned both the law and Aberdeen.

CHAPTER II.

HIS HIGH CHARACTER AS A YOUNG MAN, AND THE WIDE EXTENT OF HIS ATTAINMENTS, ESPECIALLY IN HISTORY—HIS RETENTIVE MEMORY—THE STIRRING CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD—THE TWO GREAT ECCLESIASTICAL MOVEMENTS—CONTROVERSIAL SCENES: MR. FORBES FROST, AND DR. WOODFORD—SPECTACLES FOR READING CONTROVERSIAL LITERATURE—DISCRIMINATING SUPPORT OF THE OXFORD MEN—BECOMES MORE TOLERANT WITH ADVANCING YEARS—ANECDOTES—MR. CROKER—BAILIE BOTHWELL—MR. CLERIHEW.

It was some time in the early summer of 1842 that the writer became acquainted with Mr. Grub, who then "began to be about thirty years of age." From the first, the writer was greatly impressed by the extent of the stores of knowledge, by the fluent utterance, and still more, by the strict principle and the high-toned character of the young lawyer. For a young man endowed with a keen sense of humour, Mr. Grub was unusually grave and serious, and for a layman he was exceptionally ecclesiastical—"expert in all customs and questions" in theology, in ritual, in Church history, and with his knowledge always at his finger-ends—ever ready, fluent, and communicative. The writer, a newly ordained deacon, looked up to his lay friend as his chief authority in matters ecclesiastical. He soon found, however, that within certain limits, the young lawyer was almost as well-versed in general literature,

as in Church matters, and fully as much at home in civil history as in ecclesiastical. He seemed never at a loss whatever the subject of discussion might be, but was always able to throw light upon it by a historical fact or a poetical quotation, and frequently he puzzled his friends with a recondite question, "Where does that occur?" History, however, was then and through life his stronghold. For history, taste and capacity, especially his marvellous memory, eminently fitted him. The writer never met with a man who possessed a memory which was nearly so ready, so retentive and so accurate, as Mr. Grub's. Nothing that had once been committed to it seemed ever to escape its firm grasp. Many men can remember great events and interesting incidents; but along with these Mr. Grub remembered also such secondary matters as names, dates, and genealogies of great historical families—as, for example, the Scipios. Before he was thirty years of age, Mr. Grub had read all the English historians, and at least some of the Greek and Roman also in the original. He continued to the last to read and re-read to the third, or fourth, or fifth time such favourites as Gibbon and Hume.

The reader can hardly form a just idea of some of the incidents which follow unless he bears carefully in mind the character of the period. It was one of great excitement and hot controversy, both in the ecclesiastical and in the political world. The second French revolution had practically produced a second English revolution. The political movement culminated in 1832. It was followed next year by two ecclesiastical movements—one in England, and one in Scotland. Both of these, the Oxford movement and the Non-intrusion movement,

came to a head in about ten years*—the crisis in the one case being disruption, in the other, secession.

The writer, though rather young to take part in the Church controversies, was a not uninterested witness of them in both ends of the island. Before leaving college he witnessed round a class-room fire a Non-intrusion discussion, which quickly reached white-heat. In England he lived in a town where all the clergy were of the Evangelical school, and held that the Oxford men taught "soul-destroying doctrines." When he came back to Aberdeen in 1842, he found that the controversies had both nearly reached their limit. Discussion of the vexed questions had passed the stage where it could lead to conviction. It now only irritated, and in private circles it was as a rule carefully avoided. Occasionally, however, it was suddenly introduced by a sort of accident, like the fall of a spark of fire on a bundle of tow. The most common cause of an explosion was the unsuspected presence in a large party of sympathisers of a decidedly dissentient and unsympathetic brother. When—as was certain to occur—the burning question of the day came on the carpet, some keen partisan, not dreaming of opposition or contradiction, would, with a light heart, launch out into strong partisan statements and vent bold denunciations of his

* Many persons in those days regarded these two movements as simply opposing currents—the Scotch running forward, the English running backward. But in reality each of them, like an eddying stream, had both a forward and a backward movement. Each sought to restore the Church to its condition in the past, and to secure for it in the future more freedom and independence. Each was in its way both a revival and a reform. Both did great good, if only by stimulating zeal and awakening interest in things spiritual. Neither worked the ruin of its Church, which was apprehended at the time. At the close of the "Ten Years' Conflict," the Disruption was held to be a fulfilment of the prophecy of ruin *sed non anni domuere decem!*

opponents, garnished with jibes and jeers, but in mid-career would find himself sharply pulled up by a stern dissentient growl. Then there followed a scene which, unless the host was a man of authority and tact, could not be easily stilled.

The writer has often recalled a scene of this sort at a dinner party of Aberdeen Churchmen. To the best of his recollection it was in the beginning of May, 1843—the very month of the Disruption, and just one month after the publication of a startling number of the *British Critic* (that of April, 1843), which brought things to a crisis in England—the writer met Mr. Grub at the dinner-table of his future brother-in-law, Mr. Leask, Old Aberdeen. The party embraced two or three of Mr. Grub's intimate and like-minded friends, and one or two other Churchmen, whom he doubtless believed to be in Church questions either sympathetic or indifferent. After dinner the conversation turned on the recently published number of the *British Critic*, and Mr. Grub expatiated with keen interest on a very eulogistic article on Lord Strafford—dwelling with manifest satisfaction on the alleged proofs which the writer of the article adduced of the “great interest in the public mind” which “the names of Laud, Charles, and Strafford maintained.” “The demand,” it was said, “for engravings of Charles had drained the stocks of the dealers . . . and the artists of the elder University had recently supplied casts of the three heads for lack of later memorials” (p. 455). Mr. Grub did not, doubtless, agree altogether with those three thorough-going Church and State men of the seventeenth century; he would say that they had “the defects” of their age, as well as of “their qualities.” But, on the whole, he approved of their principles and

admired their characters; he regarded them as three martyrs for Church and king; he was always ready to defend them, and pleased to hear them praised. At this stage of the movement also he was disposed to look with a favourable eye on everything that was said and done by the Oxford men. Their most extreme and most un-Anglican statements he seemed to regard as the venial exaggerations of earnest men striving to rouse up a lethargic Church. The writer does not remember all the stages of the conversation, but the upshot of it he will never forget. After Mr. Grub had gone on for some time quoting and discussing with more or less warmth of approval the *Critic's* strong statements, manifestly all unconscious of the presence of a dissentient auditor, the writer began to perceive symptoms of a storm. Mr. Forbes Frost, of Brown & Co., Aberdeen, a warm-hearted but rather hot-tempered Churchman of the old school, showed signs of uneasiness, looked black and stern, and fidgeted about in his chair. At length, when Mr. Grub had quoted with seeming approval some very strong statement, his impatient listener hissed out the question, "What right has an English Churchman to make such a statement as that?" Mr. Grub was taken aback, but he said quietly, "On such a subject the truth ought to be spoken at all hazards." The answer seemed to sting his questioner like an adder. He flung himself forward in his chair, looked daggers, and hurled at the speaker a question, or rather a series of questions, in the style, though by no means in the mood, of "jesting Pilate": "Where is the truth? What is the authority? Whose dictum is this?" It need not be said that this outburst ended the conversation and harmony of the party, though it did not give rise to any permanent estrangement.

Scenes of this kind were frequent enough in Aberdeen in that fateful year 1843. The Non-intrusion question was the chief topic of conversation wherever earnest men met together, and the occasional sudden outbreak of a jarring element was inevitable. The writer knew one good instance of a comparatively mild "scene" which originated in this way. It happened to Dr. Woodford, an Aberdeen gentleman, who held a prominent educational appointment in Edinburgh. The doctor was on a visit to Aberdeen, and one day at a party was, with all freedom, expounding his (Moderate) views on the Non-intrusion question. He was suddenly and promptly pulled up by a gentleman present: "My good sir," said the interrupter, "go home and read up; you really know nothing about the question."

But, in justice to Mr. Grub, the writer has always associated the meeting with him in Old Aberdeen in 1843 with another meeting in the same place two or three years afterwards. "Much had happened" in the interval, especially the secession of Mr. Newman and his more advanced supporters, Ward, Oakley, &c.

On the way back from Old to New Aberdeen, the conversation turned on the secession, and one of the party said, "After all, this event ought not to have taken any one of us by surprise. Surely there was ample forewarning of it in the later *British Critic* articles." "Oh, no doubt," said Mr. Grub, "we can see that *now that we have got spectacles!*"

The view which Mr. Grub here expressed by a forcible figure, the writer found expressed in plain language many years afterwards by the gentleman who edited the *British Critic* in those its latter years—the Rev. Thomas Mozley, Mr. Newman's brother-in-law.

Speaking of an article on Bishop Jewel (*British Critic*, July 1841, p. 1), written by Mr. Oakley (one of his "two runaway horses," as he called them—Ward being the other)—an article which was "considered of itself to mark a change in the *British Critic*"—he says, "all the world will now interpret the article by the light which the writer himself threw upon it by his secession to Rome." *

Often did the writer think of this remark of Mr. Grub in after times; and he never doubted that the shrewd and earnest speaker made good use of the "spectacles" thus provided for him. He continued, however, to have a kindly feeling for the men of the Oxford party, and he always defended them up to a certain point, but from this time he ceased to be their implicit follower. He claimed toleration for them, but he also stoutly vindicated toleration for himself and others against them. This true Anglican attitude he maintained steadfastly and consistently to the end.

The second decade of the writer's acquaintance with Mr. Grub (1852-62) marked a new stage in the Oxford movement. There were keen Eucharistic controversies in the north as well as in the south. In the proceedings which sprang out of these controversies, the writer took a different side from Mr. Grub, and, for some time, he saw less of him than formerly. He had, however, from his own mouth, and his own pen, repeated and decisive proofs that he by no means identified himself with his more advanced friends, nor held as his own the views which he stoutly defended in them and others. He appears, indeed, to have then made the very necessary distinction—at that time, and even now, too often

* *Mozley's Reminiscences*, vol. ii., p. 243-44, London, 1882.

overlooked—between what the Church teaches and what it tolerates.

When the first publication of very pronounced views took place in Aberdeen, Mr. Grub stated in a letter to the present writer that he considered it due to himself and to the Church to let it be known that he “did not agree with” the author.

Some time afterwards the writer had from Mr. Grub’s own mouth a distinct statement of the point in which he disagreed from that writer—or, as he himself at the time expressed it, where “he stopt.”

One day the writer was in Mr. Grub’s office with one or two other clergymen. The conversation turned on the Eucharistic controversy, and on the cardinal and most vexed question of it. Mr. Grub mentioned in a quiet way that, on the previous day, he had had a call from an able and very pronounced member of the Oxford school from a neighbouring diocese, who referred to a passage in the Church Catechism as decisive proof of his view of the “Presence.” Mr. Grub repeated the passage, and then said, “I accept that statement, but there I stop. I don’t go on to your inference from it.” Here, as the writer has often thought since, Mr. Grub *rem acu tetigit*. The Prayer Book statement was authoritative—all Churchmen were bound to accept it—but it was open to more than one explanation, and each Churchman was at liberty to explain it for himself. Few Churchmen could at that time take this calm and tolerant view of the matter, doctrinal developments had proceeded too fast.

When the first case of a prosecution for unsound doctrine arose in the north, Mr. Grub foresaw the risk to breach of friendship that would be one certain consequence of it; and he wrote to the present writer that

he trusted that, whatever other result it might have, it would make no difference in the friendly feelings that had subsisted between them. This hope was very cordially reciprocated by the writer, who has often looked back on this, and on one or two incidents of a like nature in his experience, with an ever-growing feeling of deep thankfulness. Such incidents are often far more potent than arguments or authorities for the maintenance of charity, mutual toleration, and lasting friendship.

Mr. Grub was one of those men who are "not given to change," but who, if they do change, change for the better. *Lenit albescens animos capillus*. Age moderated his confidence in his own opinions on vexed questions, made him more tolerant, more sympathetic, more charitable. He came to see that, in certain matters, men of different temperaments almost inevitably take different views, and that the confident opinionativeness of youth is based largely on ignorance and inexperience. He appreciated highly the witty *caveat* of the Cambridge don (Thomson, of Trinity), "Not one of us is infallible, no, not the very youngest amongst us!"

The writer had specially good opportunities for judging as to Mr. Grub's views at different stages of his career. About ten years after his first two years' residence in Aberdeen, the writer was again resident there for some months (1854), and during that time, and the three or four following years, he had very frequent opportunities of spending an evening with Mr. Grub and hearing copious expositions of his views on all subjects. For the last twenty years of his life he met Mr. Grub still more frequently and regularly, not only in Aberdeen, but also at Monymusk, where, for the last fifteen years, the doctor paid him a much-prized visit every summer.

In later years the writer and he differed considerably on several subjects of a secondary nature: for example, the merits of certain writers and statesmen, such as Lord Macaulay among historians, and the present Prime Minister amongst statesmen. The consequence was a little serious argument, and a great deal of good-humoured banter. So long as there was nothing irreverent in banter Mr. Grub greatly enjoyed it, and for the more effectual promotion of it he occasionally exaggerated his own views on certain subjects. He used to refer to Mr. Croker's declaration after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, that he "would never enter Parliament again till he could sit for Old Sarum!"—and he would go on laughingly to claim for himself as firm and consistent a political career as Mr. Croker's. Sometimes Mr. Grub spoke as if he thought that he himself was equally out of touch with his countrymen and the times. He used to tell how on the day of a certain election in Aberdeen a clever, waggish brother-lawyer—Mr. Clerihew—came up to him and asked him, in sporting phrase, if he could give him a tip as to which of the candidates was likely to carry the day. "Take note of the man for whom I vote," said Mr. Grub; "vote you for his opponent and you will be sure to be on the winning side."

About the time that ritual controversies were raging high, Mr. Grub used to tell with great appreciation a remark made to him by Mr. Bothwell, an Aberdeen magistrate and candle manufacturer. Mr. Bothwell was a Free Churchman, but one day he said to Dr. Grub, "Doctor, there is one practice of your Church that I highly approve of." "What's that, Mr. Bothwell?" "The burning of candles in daylight!"

This was the sort of good-natured joke which Dr. Grub could always relish. Mr. Bothwell was a gentleman with whom he had much in common—a clever, cultivated man with literary tastes and considerable knowledge of the world, gained chiefly by travelling on the Continent. Like Dr. Grub, Mr. Bothwell liked to trace a poetical quotation to its source. One day he mentioned in a small party (at Monymusk) that he had been greatly struck by a happy quotation made by Lord Aberdeen in a speech on the Disruption controversy ; and though he had tried long he had been unable to find out where it came from. The passage was :—

“But yet the light that led astray
Was light from Heaven.”

Mr. Bothwell could hardly believe, till actually brought to book, that the passage was from Burns. He seemed more familiar with Shakespeare than with Burns.

CHAPTER III.

HIS SOCIAL DISPOSITION—HAD USUALLY BUT ONE VERY INTIMATE FRIEND—MR. JOHN DUNN—MR. NORVAL CLYNE—THEIR USUAL CONVERSATION A HAPPY MIXTURE OF GRAVE AND GAY—DR. GRUB AS A CRITIC OF BOOKS—THE BLUNDERING WRITER—THE BOLD CHALLENGE—HIS PREDILECTION FOR CERTAIN WRITERS AND PREJUDICE AGAINST OTHERS—CAUSES—HUME, GIBBON, MACAULAY, CARLYLE, FROUDE, BYRON—HIS INTENSE ENJOYMENT OF “THE FLOW OF SOUL”—HOW HE DELIVERED HIS “SHOT”—HIS REVERENCE—ANECDOTES.

LIKE Dr. Johnson, Dr. Grub was of a very social disposition, and like him, also, his main enjoyment of society sprang from conversation of a more or less learned and intellectual character. Hence he did not very often appear in large or mixed parties, but generally spent his evenings in the company of one or two like-minded friends. From his practice in early and middle life it might have been supposed that he resembled Dr. Johnson, also, in his belief on the Greek doctrine of friendship, viz. (οἱ φίλοι οὐ φίλος). In those days Mr. Grub had certainly only one intimate friend—one who had the *idem sentire*, the *idem velle*, and the *idem nolle*—one of like principles, like tastes, and like sympathies—one who could “throw back the ball” to him on all subjects in which he took an interest, and especially in theology, in history, and poetry.

When the writer first became acquainted with Mr. Grub, his intimate associate was a brother advocate of his, Mr. John Dunn,—a gentleman of great ability and

promise who, unfortunately for the Church and for his friends, was cut off prematurely about ten years afterwards. The friend who succeeded him was Mr. Norval Clyne, another youthful advocate of similar Church principles, who had a very lively and cheerful disposition, with a rich vein of humour and wit, and no small share of the poetic gift as he had already proved by the publication of a volume of "Ballads on Scottish History."*

When the two friends met, the conversation generally exhibited a happy mixture of the grave and the gay—though the former usually predominated. Sometimes, however, when the subject lent itself to a humorous treatment and both friends were in the vein, the lively style prevailed very decidedly. Lately, in looking over some old letters, the writer came upon one from a gushing correspondent, wherein occurred the sentence: "I spent last evening with Grub and Clyne; wit flashed, and merriment roared the whole evening." This, if not exaggerated, was an exceptional case. The grave and earnest generally kept the ascendant, though relieved at intervals by a gleam of wit or a touch of humour.

It was, indeed, the fault of the party entirely if instruction and not amusement was not the chief outcome of an evening in Mr. Grub's society. His mind was so full that it might be truly said that it was

* Mr. Clyne's good sayings were always good-natured and sometimes very happy. Two, having both somewhat of an ecclesiastical flavour, occur to the writer. Within a comparatively short space of time two new congregations sprang from St. John's, Crown Street, Aberdeen: St. Mary's and St. Margaret's. Mr. Clyne said at a public luncheon that they had been evolved by different processes—the first by division, the second by multiplication. One day the writer, taking a walk with Dr. Grub and Mr. Clyne, happened to point out a spot where a clergyman fished for trout. The place was overhung by trees which made the casting of the line all but impossible. "It would certainly take a *judicious hooker* to catch trouts there," said Mr. Clyne.

continually running over. And if one wanted information on any point, especially on a historical question, one had only, as Burke said of Johnson, to "ring the bell" for him, or put some leading question to him.

There was one question that was very frequently put to Mr. Grub for this purpose: "Have you seen such and such a book?"—generally meaning the last new work of any pretension. If the book was on any subject save science, ten to one but the doctor had read it and was able to give off-hand a very clear and discriminating account of its contents. Most probably, if it was a work on history or biography, he threw off on the instant a rapid and comprehensive review of it, pointing out its leading merits and defects; and also furnishing incontestable proofs of the soundness of his conclusions.

In this way the writer has heard him on more than one occasion point out—quite in the style of Maitland* of "Dark Ages" fame—a succession of glaring mistakes, indicating at the same time the way in which the author had probably been misled into the commission of the mistakes. One very common source of error in a historical work—especially in one treating of mediæval times—was the mistaking the name of some place or person for that of some other better known place or person—antique spelling or the disguise of the Latin form being in such cases generally quite sufficient to lead astray an ignorant or careless writer.

In such cases, the doctor smiled or denounced according to his estimate of the author's character. If the writer was merely ignorant, he smiled; if he was not only

* The Rev. S. R. Maitland, F.R.S., F.S.A., author of a "Series of Essays intended to illustrate the State of Religion and Literature in the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries." London, Rivingtons, 1844.

ignorant but also pretentious and given to straining after effect, he denounced him with indignant severity.

The writer has a very vivid recollection of a good-natured but most thorough exposure, which the doctor made one evening in his library, of the errors of a little work which had come out some time previously on Scottish history. While two or three friends were sitting talking with him, one of them made reference to the work in question. Mr. Grub said it was utterly untrustworthy. There was not a single page of it free from error. This, the writer for one, regarded as merely a strong way of putting the matter—not a literal truth. But the doctor speedily made good his words. He took down the book, and, throwing it upon the table, challenged the party to point out a single page in it in which he should not be able to detect any error of some sort, either in the text or in the notes. Thus challenged, his friends took the book and selected a page, which, from the subject, looked as if it could not possibly contain a single mistake. In the text, indeed, there was nothing wrong; but, in the notes, the doctor speedily pounced upon an unmistakable blunder.

In the case of that little book the errors were in no sense of a malignant or wilful nature, but only the result of ignorance, carelessness, or stupidity. The doctor merely laughed at them. When he had occasion, however, to expose errors of a different sort—errors due to party spirit, to sectarian bitterness, or to the mere love of picturesque effect—his manner was very different. Words seemed too weak to express the hot and strong indignation that stirred him, but his dark looks and denunciatory head-shakings were sufficiently impressive.

He had indeed a very high idea of the historian's duty to truth. In a narrative the historian, he argued, was bound to state the plain truth as far as it was possible to ascertain it. Nothing could justify him in suppressing a fact or suggesting a falsehood, or in saying anything whatever to distort or misrepresent the actual facts. He might argue or reason on the facts as he chose, but he must first *state* them—state them accurately, and in their proper proportions and relations—and then leave them to speak for themselves to others. With the simple facts before him, it would be the reader's own fault if he put a wrong interpretation upon them.

Mr. Grub would have been the first to acknowledge that he himself had good cause to guard against a bias in the interpretation of facts. On this point he indeed sometimes indulged in a quiet joke at his own expense. As happens with many men of very decided principles, there were certain views and systems that he would not even look into, but condemned unheard. Certain eminent authors of his own day there were whose books he never opened, certain eminent statesmen whose speeches he would not read.

Sometimes one bias cast out another. There was no class of writers whom he held in greater horror than religious sceptics; yet few writers were more popular with him than Hume and Gibbon. He read and re-read them, he admired and stood up for them. Both, with one grievous drawback, had for him great redeeming merits. Any one who knew the doctor's political principles could easily understand his partiality for Hume—in fact he was never slow to avow it. One day towards the latter end of the doctor's life, the writer, who had just been reading Huxley's *Life of Hume*, made some

remark to him on the rich vein of humour which Hume displayed in his letters. "I always had a kindly feeling for David," he replied ; then, with a twinkle in his bright eye, he added, "he has always a good word for the Stewarts and the Tories." *

Gibbon again was in the doctor's idea so completely a born historian, and so fully realised his ideal of an earnest student, and a patient investigator, that he overlooked his scepticism, and always spoke of him with the greatest respect. Gibbon's autobiography was a great favourite with him. He pronounced it "a great work," and frequently showed his appreciation of it by quoting from it incidents and passages. But after all, without doubt, the circumstance which to a large extent secured the doctor's preference for these two historians was that which, as has been seen (Chapter II.), generally determined his choice of authors ; viz., their age—their period. Both of these two historians belonged to a previous age, and were classics before the doctor was born. Had they flourished in his own time, it may be doubted if he would have ever made a serious attempt to read or appreciate them. He certainly did not appear to have made any such attempt in regard to the leading historians of his own time, viz., Macaulay, Carlyle, and Froude.

In fact, as seems to happen in the case of most men who are great readers in their early days, Dr. Grub in his estimate of authors drew a hard and fast line at the period when he himself reached the age of manhood.

Dr. Grub enjoyed greatly the story of St. David Street, Edinburgh, being named after Hume, through the freak of a young lady who chalked "St. David's Street" on Hume's house—then the only one in the street ; and Hume's humorous mode of comforting his housekeeper, who was indignant at the supposed insult : "Never mind, lassie ; many a better man than me has been made a saint of."

When once he had passed the ductile and impressionable age, his tastes and principles became fixed and settled, and in matters of literature he picked and chose. He read and re-read the standard works of the past, omitting what was objectionable to him; but objectionable works of his own time—works by men whose views and principles he disliked—he would seldom open, or if he did open them he could not persevere in the perusal. The writer has heard him make this statement repeatedly in regard to three or four of his contemporaries; while he knew also from his own lips that he had read almost all the leading English historians of former ages three times over at least. As with the historians, so with the poets. To have a chance of being read by Mr. Grub, a poet must have flourished before Mr. Grub's day, or at least before he reached the critical age. The two most popular poets of the early part of the century, Scott and Byron, had this advantage. Had it been otherwise, there would have been small chance of favour, at least for Byron.

Had Byron been a contemporary sending forth poems with passages of more or less questionable tendency every other year, after Mr. Grub was grown up and mixing in society, the wayward bard would have been almost wholly proscribed and eschewed by him. The objectionable passages, and the unobjectionable, would have been alike put upon his *Index Expurgatorius*. As it was, he had in his younger days evidently read at least all the best parts of Byron, if not the whole of his works, and he continued to the last to remember and quote the finer passages, especially in *Childe Harold*. In the case of this author, indeed, he in his later days exercised discrimination in choice for others as well as for himself. He told the writer that in his capacity of librarian he did

not admit the whole of Byron's works into the Advocates' Library, Aberdeen, but only a selection, omitting at least *Don Juan*. At the same time he was always ready to stand up for Byron's claim to a high place in the roll of English poets. One evening in his library the writer, talking with him on the subject, referred to the extraordinary strain of depreciation in which some writers indulged in speaking of Byron, dwelling particularly on Wordsworth's assertion that Byron was really no poet at all, but merely "a young man of some talent." "Stuff!" he exclaimed, "Byron was a great poet as well as a great rascal!"

Dr. Grub so greatly enjoyed a "feast of reason" with one or two congenial friends of an evening, that in his latter days the "flow of soul" became quite overpowering to him. He could not "take his pleasure sadly" in those happy social hours. He threw not only his whole soul but his whole body also into the expression of genial merriment. Sometimes he used almost as much gesture as a Frenchman. When he drew near the crisis of an argument, the point of a joke, or the delivery of a witty retort—a "shot" as Mr. C. B. Davidson would say—he threw himself forward in his seat, shot his bolt, and then flung himself back, exploding with gleeful laughter, and generally plucking first one whisker and then the other, sometimes also taking a clutch at the thin tuft of hair on the top of his head. On such occasions nothing could exceed the geniality and good nature, the *bonhomie* that beamed from his whole countenance. His enjoyment of intellectual sword-play was ever most manifest. But in later days, as has been said, the excitement was too much for him; it banished sleep, and the want of sleep threw his whole system into disorder.

It is needless to say that in the midst of his most boisterous mirth Dr. Grub never lost sight of reverence. He was, in fact, on every occasion not only reverent himself, but also the cause of reverence in others. He taught reverence by his manner. Whenever, in the midst of an ordinary conversation, reference was made to a sacred subject, his whole manner became suddenly transformed. His countenance assumed a grave cast, he dropt his voice, and spoke in solemn tones. The writer has sometimes been greatly struck by the impression which this sudden change of manner produced on persons who witnessed it for the first time. It could not but strike from its suddenness and completeness—resembling in this the sudden darkening of the April sky by a passing cloud; and to the writer it often recalled the case of Elijah, at Horeb, wrapping his face in his mantle when he heard “the still small voice.”

It may be supposed that the doctor was particular as to the language that he and others used in addressing his Maker, whether in prayer or in praise. He would certainly never have adopted the practice of an able, zealous, and well-known clerical contemporary of his, who was so anxious to be thoroughly Scotch, and understood of the people, that he made use of broad Scotch in his family prayers, not abandoning the practice till an irrepressible outburst on the part of his domestics made its longer continuance impossible.

In its proper place, however, the doctor was far from objecting to the use of the native Doric, finding it occasionally a very serviceable vehicle for a humorous sally. Like all good judges he thought highly of Dr. William Alexander's *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk*. He put it into the hands of the late Mr. Macnamara, of St. Paul's Church,

Dundee, who had been brought up on the other side of the Tweed, saying, however, "I am afraid, sir, you won't make much of it." "Oh, no fear of that," said Macnamara; "I understand Scotch perfectly." So instantly, to prove his fitness, he essayed the perusal of the book, but stuck at the third word! "Tam, ye glaiKET stirk!"—"What's *glaiKET*?"

Dr. Grub thought the use of the word "sheen," in Neale's "Jerusalem the Golden," was unfortunate, as it could not fail to awake ludicrous associations in northern minds.*

* Another friend of the writer says that at one time his people usually sang the lines thus:—

"The *pastors* of the blessed
Are decked in glorious sheen."

The writer was told by the late Dr. Davidson, Inverurie, of a Presbyterian elder who, in defending his minister before the Presbytery or Synod spoke of him as his "beloved *pasture*." The opposite blunder is more common in the north, viz., making "*pasture*" *pastur* or *pastor*. The ludicrous effect of mispronunciation in the above lines is obvious.

CHAPTER IV.

HIS LITERARY FRIENDS IN EARLY YEARS—JOSEPH ROBERTSON—JOHN HILL BURTON—JOHN STUART—COSMO INNES—ALL WITH SIMILAR TASTES AND PURSUITS, YET EACH WITH A SPECIALTY—ROBERTSON MOST HELPFUL, BUT FIRST TAKEN—YEARLY VISITS TO HIS FRIENDS—TOPICS OF CONVERSATION—VISITS TO PLACES OF INTEREST—ANEC-
DOTES—PERMANENCE OF HIS FRIENDSHIPS—MR. GREIG—MR. MURDOCH.

IN his opening manhood Mr. Grub was spurred into intellectual activity not only by the stirring times, but also by the stimulus of literary and learned associates of his own age and profession. Aberdeen has almost always had a reputation for literature and culture. At the present day it is said that every year it buys more books, and in its library contains far more books, than any town of its size in the kingdom. Before the present centralisation of literature, it used to have a magazine or two of its own, and generally very intelligent and enterprising booksellers—book-makers in some cases as well as booksellers—Andrew Shireffs, M.A., for instance, who, though lame and “slowly hirpling o’er a rung,” was the editor of a magazine and author of a volume of poetry (Edinburgh, 1790). The writer has more than once heard Dr. Grub dilate in glowing terms on the galaxy of talented young men who flourished in Aberdeen in “the thirties,” and by their clever contributions enhanced greatly the literary merit of the

Aberdeen Magazine of the day.* Mr. Grub was the youngest of the contributors. Of these the chief were John Hill Burton, Joseph Robertson, and John Stuart—names that are now household words amongst Scottish historians and antiquaries. These three, like Mr. Grub himself, were all Aberdeen lawyers—all were Episcopalians, all were historians or antiquaries or archæologists, all became “Doctors of Law,” and, with the exception of Dr. Grub, they all forsook the law and Aberdeen for literature and Edinburgh.

To these four names should perhaps be added that of Mr. Cosmo Innes, late Sheriff of Moray, who was also brought up in Aberdeenshire, had like tastes and accomplishments as the others, and was through life a diligent worker in northern antiquities.

These Aberdeen doctors † had all like but not identical tastes and pursuits. One took chiefly to civil history, another to ecclesiastical; two excelled chiefly in antiquities, one in archæology.

Dr. Hill Burton took the civil side of Scottish History—Dr. Grub the ecclesiastical—Joseph Robertson and Cosmo Innes were the greatest Scottish antiquaries of the day—Robertson being decidedly and admittedly first. One day Cosmo Innes said to Dr. Grub, “Joseph Robertson is our greatest antiquary”—then he added smiling, “with the exception of myself”—this addendum being, of course, merely a joke. Dr. John Stuart was the greatest archæologist of the whole. Most of them,

* Published by Mr. Lewis Smith—began January 1831, and continued for two years. Literary booksellers are by no means extinct in the “Granite City.” See, for example, *Brown’s Bookstall*, edited by the present head of Brown & Co., and made lively and interesting by monthly contributions of Aberdonian reminiscences by ex-Bailie Walker, the late senior partner.

† Some of their number had Edinburgh degrees.

however, were more or less historians, antiquaries, and archæologists,* yet each had his specialty. Dr. Joseph Robertson, Dr. Grub used to say, was not only *facile princeps* as an antiquarian, but he had also a most minute and accurate knowledge of Scottish history; and he was always ready to impart his knowledge. Dr. Grub consulted him on all difficult questions. When his *Ecclesiastical History* was completed, he told the writer that he went up to Edinburgh and went over the whole of it with Mr. Robertson, inviting and welcoming his criticisms and deriving great benefit from the same.

Fifty years ago Mr. Grub seemed the least robust of all these eminent men, yet he was the only one of them all who attained to a ripe old age. As long as they lived he kept up a more or less close intimacy with the whole of them—closest of all with Joseph Robertson. He expressed great regret at Robertson's comparatively early death; all the more that the sad event came almost immediately after his friend's long-deferred and richly-merited promotion. Robertson laboured long and faithfully for a mere pittance, and when at last an adequate salary was attained the end came. "I am sinking in sight of port," was his own expression. The writer has heard Dr. Grub refer on more than one occasion to the last time that he dined with his much-lamented friend at his house in Edinburgh—a few months before his death. At that time

* The archæologist, the antiquary, and the historian work at different periods—the archæologist before the emergence of written records—the historian *after*—the antiquary comes between the two, working in the dawn of history and explaining ancient documents by antique articles. See on this subject an excellent little treatise—*Outlines of Scottish Archaeology*, by the Rev. George Sutherland, Portsoy—Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas 1870.

Dr. Robertson was, to all appearance, in much better health than he had been for some time previously, an improvement which he half jocularly attributed to certain recent changes of habit. He had, for one thing, given up shaving, and for another he had abandoned the national toddy for a mild French wine (Beaune). He humorously rallied Dr. Grub on "the dangers that do environ" the razor and the whisky—and said to him "Drink Beaune and let your beard grow, and you'll live for ever!" Dr. Grub, however, recalled afterwards an ominous remark which his lively friend made to him on that occasion. Turning round abruptly to him Robertson said, "You'll write my life?" At the time Dr. Grub said he thought that if either of the two survived to write the life of the other, it would not be he, but his seemingly hale and vigorous friend. However *Dis aliter visum*, and Dr. Grub did not forget his friend's request. He contributed a life of Robertson to Volume i. (published last) of the Spalding Club series—entitled *Illustrations or Antiquities*.

In this memoir he does full justice to Robertson's merits. He speaks of "that curious learning and rare accuracy, in which he had no equal among his contemporaries" (p. xxiv). "He was uniformly cheerful, and his cheerfulness was the reward of constant work and time well spent. A text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus which he sometimes quoted might have been applied to himself: "To labour and to be content with that a man hath is a sweet life" (p. xxvi). "Few will dispute Robertson's pre-eminent rank among Scottish antiquaries. Of his predecessors the foremost names are those of Thomas Innes, Lord Hailes, Pinkerton, and Chalmers. Equal to Pinkerton in acuteness, and to

Chalmers in industry and research, he excelled them both in learning, impartiality, and good taste. He was as accurate as Hailes, without any share of his narrowness and occasional acerbity and conceit. Probably he would himself have been most pleased to take his place beside Innes."

It may certainly be said of Dr. Grub that he never lost a friend. One of the lovable brothers Hare used to speak of himself, as "the hare with many friends." As has been seen, Dr. Grub did not cultivate a number of friends, but rather, at most periods of his life, one very intimate and congenial friend. He was very friendly, however, with all persons with whom he was occasionally brought into contact; and besides one friend, who stuck to him closer than a brother, he had all his life two or three others with whom he kept up a constant friendly intercourse, exchanging visits and letters in a very free and cordial way. Several of these friends were very far from agreeing with him altogether on many important topics in which they all took a lively interest. They belonged to a different Church, or to a different party in the Church, or they looked at the passing phases of politics and literature from different stand-points. Instead, however, of differences of opinion operating as a bar to cordial intercourse they had in general the very opposite effect, frequently giving a fillip and zest to the conversation.

In his latter years Dr. Grub almost invariably paid a visit every summer to his friends in different parts of the country. To him as to his hosts these visits seemed always very highly enjoyable. He was the best of company—always in good humour and high spirits; lively, cheerful, and courteous; full of mental quips and cranks;

ever ready for an encounter of wits ; and brimming over with information and anecdotes, lightened up by spontaneous flashes of wit and humour.

Like Dr. Johnson he found conversation a never-failing source of entertainment—sufficient for the day and for every day. Thus there was never any difficulty in amusing him. If the weather was fine he would saunter out into the garden, always keeping the conversational ball rolling. If the weather was bad, he was equally happy indoors. It was enough for him if he had a sympathetic listener and could “throw himself back in his chair and have out his talk.” Time never hung heavily on his hands, and the flow of conversation never flagged. It was very seldom indeed that he required to be “wound up” by a reference to some favourite topic. His mind was full and running over. Thus he forgot the weather and made his hearers forget it.

With Dr. Grub there was never any dearth of topics. When the questions of the day—ecclesiastical, theological, historical, or literary—were disposed of, he would range at large over the wide world of literature and history ancient and modern, pouring forth minute and circumstantial narratives of interesting episodes, or lively anecdotes, occasionally pausing to puzzle his hearers with the explanation of some obscure historical fact, or the authorship of some recondite poetical passage—such for instance, as Gray’s passage about “gospel light dawning from Bullen’s eyes”—generally quoted as *beaming* and attributed to Pope.

A favourite topic with Dr. Grub in his latter days was a comparison of the great English writers of the eighteenth century with those of the nineteenth. He stoutly maintained that the eighteenth century

men were at least the equals of their nineteenth century successors.

On the occasion of one of his last visits to Monymusk he one day got a slip of paper and a pen, and asked the writer to take another slip and write upon it the names of the twenty greatest English writers of the eighteenth century on one list, and on another those of the twenty greatest authors of the nineteenth; he doing the same on his slip. Both the double lists were accordingly finished and compared, and it was found that there was exceedingly little difference in the names selected in them either from the eighteenth or the nineteenth century—not above two or three names in both the lists; and these differing names were not such as could in either case alter materially the weight and value of the lists. The Doctor maintained that whichever list was taken the eighteenth century men would stand the test.

On occasions of this sort the Doctor tacitly admitted the merits of certain nineteenth century writers such as Carlyle and Macaulay, whom he usually denounced for the very qualities that made them popular, believing that they sacrificed truth to effect. This, he seemed to think, is always done, more or less, by historians of the graphic or picturesque school. They may tell the truth, but it is not the simple truth. They exaggerate and embellish. He used to cite instances of such embellishment as had a semblance of truth, but yet were not history—cases where the historian, professing to report what was said by some man of eminence on an important occasion, gives not the whole speech but only a single pointed and telling sentence of it. Dr. Grub had a very high opinion of Dr. Thomas M'Crie, the

historian of John Knox, but he pointed out blemishes of this sort in his great work. When Knox's body was laid in the grave, M'Crie says the Regent (Morton) pronounced his eulogium in these words: "There lies the man who never feared the face of man!" The real speech was five times as long and far less effective. Again, when Andrew Melville presented the Assembly's grievance to King James at Perth in 1582, the Earl of Arran exclaimed "What! who dare subscribe these treasonable Articles?" "*We dare!*" said Melville. But Melville said more than this—his full answer was "*We dare, and will subscribe them, and give our lives in the cause.*" The simple and laconic "*We dare!*" implied all this and at once sent it home like a bolt. Selection to secure pith and point is no doubt often desirable; but it should be given *as* selection. King Francis I. of France's letter to his mother after his defeat at Pavia was thought a model of epigrammatic heroism so long as it was believed to contain only the words, "All is lost save honour"; but opinion changed somewhat when at last the letter itself turned up and it was found that to this heroic dictum were added the words, "and our person, which is safe"!*

Several of his friends—notably Mr. Greig—thought that in this critical matter Dr. Grub was too severely rigid, to the detriment of his own style. His biographer

* The French appear to cultivate point and epigram at all risks. A French translator of Xenophon's *Anabasis* omits the second clause of a sentence in the character of Clearchus, because the first clause ended with a *bon mot*, and a *bon mot*, he says, should never have anything after it in a sentence! So Louis XVIII.'s reported speech on his restoration—"There is no change, only another Frenchman (Il n'y a qu'un Français de plus)"—was never spoken by him but devised by his ministers, who insisted on printing it instead of the actual speech to the deputation.

says of Macaulay, that when he wrote his essay on "The Conduct and Character of William III." he "had not yet learned to transfer" his "humour from his conversation to his writings." As a rule Dr. Grub never did so. Ecclesiastical subjects do not indeed readily lend themselves to humorous treatment. When Prideaux took his famous *Connexion* to a publisher the latter advised him to put a little humour into it; but it is not said that the advice was taken.

In some passages of his miscellaneous writings, however, the doctor gives the rein to his humour, much as he used to do in conversation. In the preface to one of the Spalding Club books* already referred to, speaking of the Statistical Accounts of Scotland by parish ministers, he attests the usefulness of the two Accounts, but culls (chiefly from the *Quarterly Review*, March 1848) a set of amusing blunders into which a few of the writers fell. "A south country minister speaks of St. Michael as 'a saint of great note in the Romish *Breviary* who flourished in the tenth century,' and a minister of the far north found the burial-place of the same saint in his own parish. A Highland minister did not know who the Mary was to whom his church was dedicated, but thought it most likely 'she was a descendant of one of the lairds of Chisholm.' One writer makes Froissart a contemporary of Mary Stewart. In the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Fordun, the minister, speaking of John Fordun, author of the *Scotichronicon*, says that 'he was thought by some to have been a man of property in this parish, by others with greater probability to have been a monk who resided here.' In the new Statistical Account the following additional information is sup-

* *Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. xxxiv.

plied regarding the old chronicler—‘John of Fordun was either a native of the parish, or resided in it, when he wrote his history of Scotland.’ He is called by Bede ‘*Venerabilis vir, Dominus Joannes Fordun Presbyter.*’” “It is not explained,” adds the doctor, “how Bede was able to refer to an author who lived six centuries after himself.”

On occasion of these visits to his friends he used in his earlier days to take sometimes a long walk to inspect an old ruined castle or church. The visit was never barren of interest to the friend who accompanied him; for he seldom failed to throw some new light on the ruin. If the building had a history, ten to one but he had it at his finger ends. If instead of an authentic history it had merely a local tradition of the romantic order, connecting it in some improbable or impossible way with some eminent historical event or personage, he would often with a word expose the baselessness of the tradition.*

The writer had once the good fortune to be shown through a very interesting old castle with Dr. Grub, a castle which was too old and too eminent not to be equipped with its ghost and ghost-chamber and its traditions of royal visitors. The room was shown in which Prince Charlie slept, and also the massive antique silver watch, which he obviously left under his pillow—which watch, after being abstracted and many years feloniously retained by the chambermaid, was at last on her late repentance, returned to the lord of the castle, and there it was, a material guarantee of the truth of

* The Rev. G. B. Walker once drove Dr. Grub from Monymusk to Castle Forbes and back. The whole way to and fro the doctor kept up an unceasing flow of interesting historical lore, making the time fly unheeded.

the tradition. Dr. Grub, like other visitors, listened patiently to the recital of the traditions; but he whispered to the writer, "If Prince Charlie was ever in this house, or within fifty miles of it, history is greatly at fault."

On a more important occasion the writer was present at a public meeting where a speaker, dilating on the claims of a candidate for high office, emitted, on what he considered undoubted authority, the statement that the gentleman in question was "the lineal descendant" of a certain well-known historical character. "But he isn't, though," muttered Dr. Grub, unconsciously as it seemed, yet quite audibly. The effect was striking; for no one present had the least doubt that the contradiction was warranted, the doctor's intimate knowledge of the different branches of most historical families being well-known to all his friends.

When in the vein Dr. Grub would cite a historical parallel to almost any incident that occurred. On one occasion on his way to Monymusk he met at the station a friend who had been visiting at the parsonage, and who had come to the station in the "trap" which was to take the doctor from it. On learning this he said—(bowing with mock deference), "Then I may say, my lord, we have been exchanged, as Atterbury said to Bolingbroke at Boulogne—the one going into exile, the other returning from it."

There were two at least of Dr. Grub's college friends—both members of the Established Church—with whom he kept up a cordial intimacy through life—the Rev. James Greig of Chapel of Garioch and Mr. Murdoch, solicitor, Huntly. Both these gentlemen were of the number of his friends to whom he in general paid a yearly

visit.* Mr. Greig was cut off in middle-life ; but Dr. Grub retained to the last a very kindly remembrance of him as "a warm-hearted fellow." One evening nearly thirty years after Mr. Greig's death the writer called upon Dr. Grub, and found him in a state of pleasurable excitement from having, in reading the then just published *Bards of Bon Accord*, come all unexpectedly upon a short notice of his long-departed friend, followed by the copy of a song of Mr. Greig's composition entitled, "Her bonnie blue e'e, the blinkin' o't,"—a very good song indeed, as the doctor emphatically pronounced it. About the same time, and probably in consequence of this pleasant reminiscence, Dr. Grub showed the writer a copy of the Scotch Prayer Book of 1637, which Mr. Greig had presented to him, and on which he had inscribed a highly eulogistic address in Latin—a verse forecasting great fame and distinction to him both in the domain of history and in that of law. Mr. Greig was a clever, accomplished man, with literary tastes and aptitudes, and wide ecclesiastical sympathies. Dr. Grub and he frequently exchanged visits to the last. The doctor went to see his friend a little before he died, and was much affected by his "Vale in Æternum !"

* Mr. Murdoch was of the same age as Mr. Grub, but entered college three years later. Mr. Greig entered in the same year, but did not proceed with Mr. Grub through more than one class. After being one year at college without a bursary, he entered the lists next year, and, gaining a high bursary, began his curriculum anew. Mr. Greig had lively recollections of his and his friend's college experiences. At that time, Mr. Grub being as yet unaffected with lameness, and brimful of animal spirits, was very active and lively ; ever ready for any active sport or practical joke. In one of his later years he told the writer that Mr. Greig informed him sometime after the bursary competition in which they both took part, that he was struck with Mr. Grub's lively and seemingly careless behaviour on the occasion, saying that he seemed continually smiling or looking around him ; and Mr. Greig said within himself—"Whoever gets a bursary, that little red-haired boy won't."

Mr. Murdoch, another life-long friend, reached a ripe old age, the friendship apparently continuing as warm and close as ever. The writer did not know Mr. Murdoch ; but it was easy to see from Dr. Grub's references to him and frequent quotations of his humorous sayings, that he greatly respected and esteemed him. If a friend looked at his watch, he would say, "How goes the enemy? as my friend Murdoch would say." If he received an admonition to come home betimes from a dinner-party, or not to sit too late at night over the friendly bowl, he would say, again quoting Mr. Murdoch, "We'll make no rash promises, my dear."

CHAPTER V.

AT HOME WITH MEN OF EVERY DENOMINATION—COULD ENTER INTO THEIR FEELINGS AND INTERESTS—MORE TOLERANT WITH ADVANCING YEARS—MEETING WITH THE ABERDEEN ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY—THE WIGTOWN MARTYRS—CHANGES HIS VIEW OF THEIR CASE—HIS HEALTH GRADUALLY BREAKS DOWN—RECEIVES MOST KIND AND CONSIDERATE TREATMENT FROM HIS BROTHER PROFESSORS AND LAWYERS—RESIGNS HIS CHAIR—HIGHEST RETIRING ALLOWANCE GRANTED—HIS PORTRAIT PAINTED BY SIR GEORGE REID FOR THE SOCIETY OF ADVOCATES—PRESENTATION OF PORTRAIT—FLATTERING SPEECH OF PRESIDENT DAVIDSON—ANECDOTES.

THOUGH a very staunch Churchman—over-strict perhaps in some secondary matters—Dr. Grub never had any difficulty in making himself agreeable and companionable in the most mixed companies. For one thing he was always courteous, good-humoured, and lively; then he had ever at command a fund of topics of general interest—something to say which every one could appreciate. Wherever he might be set down, in his own country, at least, he showed himself at once perfectly at home in all matters of interest connected with the place, whether present or past—particularly past—breaking out into lively historical or topographical allusions or bantering questions. He had at his finger ends the history of all the Scottish Churches; and whatever might be the denomination with the members of which he was brought into contact, he was quickly on the easiest terms with

them, for he could enter into every question which interested them.

In early days the writer met him occasionally at the manse of Chapel of Garioch when he paid a visit to his old college classfellow, the Rev. James Greig. There all ecclesiastical and religious topics were freely discussed as they chanced to come up. Mr. Grub always handled them in a way to communicate information and promote discussion, without ever exciting angry feeling or unseemly bickering.

In his later years he became more tolerant than he was in youth, and also more companionable with the members of all Churches. Within a few years of his death the writer met him for a short time in a very mixed party*—consisting largely of ministers and divinity students of the Established Church, and presided over by a well-known earnest yet genial parish minister. The doctor evidently enjoyed greatly this meeting. It was an opportunity for an interchange of ideas, and for an endless play of genial humour. No sooner was he seated at the table beside the president than he proposed to turn the meeting to account for the promotion of ecclesiastical reunion. "What do you say, Mr. Cooper, to our resolving ourselves into a conference and drawing up a concordat something in this style—'We, the clergy and laity of the Church of Scotland as by law established, and the clergy and laity of the Church of Scotland as by law disestablished, having met in solemn conference, and taken into earnest consideration our unhappy divisions, do hereby resolve,' " &c. This exordium was duly followed up by similar banter of a more or less ecclesiastical character, with appropriate allusions to local celebrities ranging

* The Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society.

through all the ages of Church history. It was not an occasion for entering seriously on the discussion of any of the causes of the "unhappy divisions," nor of the possibility of reunion. It need not be said, however, that such subjects had a deep interest for Dr. Grub. He was always on fit occasions ready to discuss any of them in an earnest and charitable spirit. A few years previously he said to the writer, speaking of the prospects of reunion between the Episcopal and the Established Churches of Scotland, "I don't think that *doctrine* would now form any serious obstacle; other obstacles may disappear with time, but time will be required."

His love of truth and his keen sense of justice made him at all times, but especially in his latter years, forward to acknowledge any error into which he had fallen, and to abandon a position which he felt to be argumentatively untenable. The writer had from his own lips, at his next visit (in 1890), a full account of an instance of this creditable characteristic, which is of some historical importance, viz., his conversion to the popular belief in the actual drowning of the two unfortunate women known as the "Wigtown Martyrs." When he wrote his history he evidently thought the popular account of the drowning of the two women something more than doubtful. The evidence as known to him then was certainly very conflicting, and Mr. Mark Napier had made the most of the rebutting testimonies. The women had recanted, and the Privy Council had passed an Act reprieving them. There seemed to be no proof that the sentence was ever carried out. Some years after the publication of his history, however, Dr. Grub became convinced that there was such proof. It was found by him, as it had been by other inquirers, in a

pamphlet, written by a contemporary Royalist—Matthias Simpson, son of the Royalist minister of the parish to which the elder of the two women belonged—a writer who must have been perfectly conversant with all the facts of the case, and also altogether free from any bias in favour of the popular view. Simpson admits the drowning, but denies some of the alleged barbarous accompaniments thereof—such as that the women were not tried by regular process, and, at their execution, were tied to stakes on the sea beach, and left to be slowly engulfed by the rising tide. “True, ‘they were drowned,’ he says, ‘but,’ &c. . . . the testimony of Matthias Simpson must,” said Dr. Grub, “be taken as that of his father also, and both men were unimpeachable witnesses.” Neither father nor son conformed to Presbyterianism at the Revolution. The father was ejected from his living, and settled in Edinburgh as a bookseller and publisher—the son, Matthias, entered the Church of England and became a prebendary of Lincoln. The testimony of two such men dispelled entirely the cloud of doubt in the candid doctor’s mind as to the fact of the drowning, and he said he took an early opportunity of making his change of view known through a friend in Edinburgh to one of Mark Napier’s prominent antagonists, who, in a subsequent publication, alluded to the fact as a proof that conviction was now being brought home to “our opponents.” “But,” added the doctor, “I believe Mark Napier never made any admission of error or retractation of his view.”

His experience in this matter led the doctor to dwell at some length on the importance of having all pamphlets and other fugitive documents bearing on historical facts bound carefully up in volumes, so as to give them

a chance of preservation for reference. The copy of Matthias Simpson's pamphlet of which he first heard was said by the writer who referred to it to have been found by him bound up in a volume with a number of other pamphlets. The copy which came into Dr. Grub's own possession owed its preservation to the same accident. He found it in a bound volume of pamphlets "of Queen Anne's reign," which was advertised for sale by an Aberdeen bookseller.

There was one very marked characteristic of Dr. Grub's conversation which the writer always noted with pleasure. This was its entire freedom from censoriousness. He never spoke evil of persons, even in the heat of the hottest controversy, or in the liveliest sallies of his ever lively wit. When he could not say anything good of a man, he said nothing. Doubtless this was largely due to natural disposition ; but there was also ever at work within him the higher influence of Christian principle. This might be seen in his countenance on certain occasions. There was a struggle manifestly going on within, but principle always prevailed over passion, and he "kept his mouth as it were with a bridle."

With his genuine character, courteous manner, cheerful disposition, and lively wit, Dr. Grub was highly popular, especially with his more intimate friends, for, to be adequately appreciated, he required to be known intimately. He was highly respected and esteemed however by a very wide circle of acquaintances. This was brought home to him in the most gratifying way possible as he drew near his end. About two years before his death he became unfit to discharge his professional duties, and yet for very good reasons he was unwilling to resign his chair. His case was a very peculiar one. He had

been, as the president of the Society of Advocates said, "practically the sole teacher of law in the University of Aberdeen for the long period of forty-eight years," yet he did not actually hold the chair for quite ten years, and so was not entitled to a retiring pension. Everything however was done to overcome this difficulty by the Principal and the Senatus of the University, and done promptly and with the least possible trouble to the professor himself. A very capable substitute (Mr. D. M. Milligan, advocate) was appointed to read the law lectures during the remainder of the ten years' period, and at the expiry of that period the professor sent in his resignation. Then "the Senatus recommended to the Queen in Council and to the Universities' Commission that the highest possible rate of retiring allowance should be given to Dr. Grub, and to this recommendation effect was given." This settlement was very gratifying to the aged professor. To him the particulars of it, such as the amount of the allowance, were of small consequence; but the way and manner of settlement, the very kind and considerate conduct of all who took part in it, touched him very deeply. The writer had from him, at the time, a letter giving very forcible expression to his feelings in the matter.

These solid testimonies to his worth were accompanied and speedily followed up by others which were equally gratifying. The Society of Advocates had a meeting on the occasion of the professor's retirement, at which they unanimously agreed to a resolution, in which it was said, that "all the present members of the society, with the exception of about twelve at the head of the list, have been students under him. The society has during his professional career recognised the erudition, the literary

culture, the legal and historical knowledge and research which Dr. Grub has brought to bear upon his work, and has seen with pleasure the esteem and affection with which successive generations of students have regarded him. In thus recording their appreciation of Dr. Grub's services to them the society trusts that he may be spared to enjoy in a green and happy age his well-merited retirement."

The kind wishes of his friends for a happy retirement were fulfilled. Happy it was, but short. The release from toil and duty came late. *Sera respexit inertem*. His mind indeed remained clear and active, but his bodily faculties speedily failed him. Happily, however, a sufficiency of health and strength was left him to enable him to receive, to appreciate highly, and most thankfully acknowledge certain other very gratifying tokens of esteem. When he retired from the chair of law a movement was speedily set on foot to have a portrait of him taken by the president of the Royal Scottish Academy, Sir George Reid, to be hung in the Advocates' Hall. The Society of Advocates took the matter up with a will, and funds were speedily collected. "Subscribers," as the president said, "were to be found in every part of Scotland, from John o' Groat's to Berwick-on-Tweed, and from the extreme east to the extreme west." The portrait was painted. Dr. Grub had an aversion to sit for his portrait, and he could not now stand much fatigue. However, it seems he not only bore well the necessary sittings, but actually enjoyed them, finding in the artist a kindred literary spirit. "Sir George knows Scott as well as I do, and that is saying a good deal." The picture—"admirable as a work of art, and perfect as a likeness"—was unveiled and presented to the Society of

Advocates by the president of the society, Mr. Charles B. Davidson, in presence of a select and representative body of citizens, including the Lord Provost (Stewart), the Bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir William Geddes, principal of the University. The speeches which were delivered on this occasion were all highly eulogistic and cordial, yet discriminating. Mr. C. B. Davidson's address in making the presentation was particularly happy—presenting as it did a word-picture of the inner man as true and life-like as the artist's masterly representation of the outer man. Mr. Davidson, in fact, showed that he could appreciate both the picture and the original, and make the one throw light on the other.

“The portrait, on a canvas of 50 in. by 40 in., is a three-quarter length, and shows the subject of it standing near by the corner of a writing-table, on which lie several parchment covered volumes, with an inkstand. Dr. Grub has just risen, and stands with the tip of the fingers of the right hand touching the red table-cover, a large fully opened tome, placed in a slanting position on the top edge, on which his left hand rests, overlapping the other volumes. Manifestly, the venerable and ever-genial doctor has just lighted on some passage that keenly interests him; or he has otherwise something good to say in the way of an amusing reference or anecdote to the visitor who has looked in upon him. One can read as much at once in the pleasant twinkle of his wonderfully fresh eyes. In pose the portrait is altogether characteristic. The spectator feels that he is brought into close contact with the inward spirit and character of the man.”

After giving the dates of Dr. Grub's appointments, and stating that practically he had been forty-eight

years Professor of Law in Aberdeen University, the President said—They would see from these figures that Dr. Grub was the father in Law of nearly all the members of the legal profession in Aberdeen. They remembered the erudition and research displayed by him in his lectures. He was eminently a historical lawyer. He knew from whence the stones that went to build up our great edifice of law were to be quarried, and he knew the men, the times, and the circumstances by which these were all built together into the edifice in which they now lived. He recorded for them the various stages of development of our legal system, and expounded and elucidated for them the principles of our law. He (Mr. Davidson) thought that the legal acquirements of the profession in Aberdeen were the best testimony that could be given of the eminence of Dr. Grub as their teacher. It was not in law only that Dr. Grub distinguished himself. He distinguished himself also in the region of ecclesiastical history. It was upon this subject that he was recognised by all as a great and impartial authority. And while this was his *magnum opus*, he was associated with such men as Joseph Robertson, John Stuart, and Cosmo Innes in the work of the old Spalding Club, and the prefaces to a number of the volumes of the Club gave evidence of the intimate knowledge of the history and antiquities of our country which he possessed. Indeed, it had struck him that the doctor was probably more familiar with the men of two hundred years ago than the men of to-day. He spoke of them in a manner as if he had lived with them; he knew their characteristic peculiarities and excellences, and it was one of the greatest pleasures possible to hear his stories about them. In 1864 his Alma Mater recognised

his gifts and acquirements by conferring upon him the degree of LL.D. Dr. Grub had also been the Librarian of their Society for a great many years, and they knew that he gave his great knowledge of books and of the library most ungrudgingly to all who had to come within his sphere, both members of the profession and the apprentices who came to the library as well. When they recalled the quick wit and delicious pleasantries and the happy kindliness with which the doctor lighted up all these varied acquirements, they could understand the ready, and, indeed, he could only describe it as the forcible response that was at once made. There was some little discussion as to where the portrait, when painted, should be placed. He was glad to say that all parties agreed it should be in that hall; and, indeed, the doctor settled it himself in his happy way by saying that he wanted to be hung where he lived. Sir George Reid accepted the commission with an intense appreciativeness of the excellence of the subject, and he was sure when the picture was unveiled they would agree it was a great work of art.

The portrait was then unveiled, amid loud applause.

The President continued—"I am sure you will agree with me that the painter who could catch and transfer to canvas that look, confers honour on himself as well as on the subject of the picture. It is the look which the doctor has when he is about to say some good thing to you. (Applause.) In fact, when that look is on, you expect some shot to be fired at you." (Applause.) Then, in name of the subscribers, the President presented to the Society of Advocates "this beautiful picture of one who had been so long an ornament to the profession."

It is obvious that, had the occasion served, President

Davidson could have greatly enlivened his clever and interesting speech by quoting some of the doctor's telling "shots" or "delicious pleasantries," such as the following, which appeared soon after in a local paper:—

On one occasion a brother lawyer, who was what Sir Walter Scott would have called a "good book-keeper," had a considerable number of volumes standing against him on the library books, and the doctor took occasion to draw his attention to the fact, and to request that the books should be returned. The delinquent said, with a smile, "Well, doctor, I should be able to pass any examination in law, having such a number of law books in my possession." "You should be able to pass any examination in *book-keeping*" was the rejoinder.*

With this "shot" might have been fitly conjoined that "delicious pleasantry," the doctor's humorous rendering of the Latin motto on Dunecht House, the northern mansion of the astronomical Lord Crawford—a splendid mansion with a splendid observatory attached—*Hic Corpus, Sidera Mentis*. Some of the members of the Philosophical Society on their visit to the place were a little puzzled by this elliptical inscription, and asked the learned doctor how he translated it. Wittily glancing at the noble owner's scientific pursuits, he promptly replied, "This bodie minds the stars!"

* *Aberdeen Journal*, Sept. 24th, 1892.

CHAPTER VI.

HIS LATTER DAYS—BODILY PROSTRATION—SIR GEORGE REID WANTS SITTINGS FOR A SECOND PORTRAIT—THE GREAT RESPECT AND ATTENTION SHOWN HIM—HIS GRATEFUL APPRECIATION OF THE SAME—LAST SAYINGS—HIS SON'S ACCOUNT OF THE LAST DAYS—FUNERAL—TRIBUTE TO HIS MEMORY BY DR. COOPER.

“Me let the tender office long engage
To rock the cradle of reposing age,
With lenient arts extend a *father's* breath,
Make languor smile, and smoothe the bed of death.”

To one of Dr. Grub's firm faith and consistent life the prospect was bright; and then in his surroundings there was everything to bear him up in “the dark valley.” As he said to the Rev. Dr. Cooper, of the East Church, Aberdeen, a short time before his death, he “had everything to be thankful for.” His niece, Miss Whitecross, who had for many years been “unto him as a daughter,” and to whom under Providence was due the prolongation of his life “to fourscore years,” was unremitting in her attentions; and tokens of respect poured in upon him from all sides. The first time the writer called, the patient was engaged in conference with Sir George Reid, President of the Royal Scottish Academy, who wished to know if he could let him have a few more sittings to enable him to give the finishing touches to a second portrait of the professor, which the generous artist intended to present (and *did* present) to the University.

Dr. Grub was greatly gratified by this mark of attention. There were others that were little less gratifying.

He had intimated his resignation of the office of Librarian of the Society of Advocates, but he asked the writer to read a letter which he had just received from Mr. C. B. Davidson, president of the society, deprecating resignation. Mr. Davidson said in effect that arrangements had been made for the discharge of all the librarian's duties, but there would be no new appointment made then. "We could not," he added, "bear the idea of your ceasing to be our librarian as long as you live."

He spoke in terms of warm appreciation of these and certain other tokens of regard,* and in spite of his perfect prostration and helplessness he seemed happy. Certainly there was not "the shadow of gloom in aught that" escaped from his lips. He was always patient, and till the last fortnight of his life, when overpowered by weakness and occasional severe pain, he was placid and gravely cheerful. Sometimes the old irrepressible humour broke out. One day Mr. C. B. Davidson called to see him, and on going out he said to the doctor that he hoped to see him again some day soon. "You'll always find me in, Mr. Davidson," was the reply. His very intimate friend, Mr. J. P. Cumine, advocate, called to see him every day on his way to or from his office. One day in asking him how he felt, the answer was, "I can hardly tell you. What do you think! They closeted me for half an hour with a Jesuit!" This was his humorous way of stating that he had had a visit from the Roman Catholic historian, Mr. Forbes Leith, who wanted to see him about some papers.

His manner at the last was much as it was at the first—*qualis ab incepto*. He lived the life and he "died the

* Amongst others an illuminated copy of the list of subscribers to his portrait, by his accomplished clerk, Mr. Mutch.

death of the righteous—his last end was like his.” His death was entirely in harmony with his life. Soon after the presentation of his portrait his bodily powers almost entirely failed him. The writer saw him twice (on August 15th and 19th). He lived about five weeks longer (till September 23rd), but he was already so weak as to be unable to move himself or put a morsel of food to his mouth. In mind, however, he was clear and calm, and in manner contented and even cheerful. Seeing and hearing him, the writer could not but think that he had before him the very ideal of a Christian pilgrim coming in sight of his home—one to whom death was simply the happy transition to real and enduring life. The reader will peruse with pleasure the subjoined touching account of his last days from the pen of his eldest son, who watched by his bedside and closed his eyes in death.

HIS LAST DAYS. *

My brother and myself went together to Norway during the first fortnight of July, 1892; and, though his weakness was great, we found our father wonderfully bright and cheerful. He was much interested on our return to hear the news of our little trip, and especially pleased with an account which I gave of a Sunday spent in Trondhjem (or Drontheim, as he preferred to call it), and its cathedral. The second part of my holiday took place in September, and I arranged to spend the greater part of it with my father. A great change had come over his condition, and he was now entirely confined to bed, and requiring constant attention. But he was very patient, and grateful for all the care which was

* By the Rev. George Grub, Rector of Ayr.

so devotedly bestowed on him by his niece, who was very seldom absent from his side. I was able to leave him for about a week to pay a promised visit to Perthshire and Forfarshire. By the time of my return the weakness was further increased, and frequent sickness caused much trouble and anxiety. He had when I just arrived been able to see several friends, and it always gave him pleasure to hear of old acquaintances who inquired after him. The visits of the Bishop and of the clergy—such as Dean Hatt and Dr. Danson—were all valued. The Bishop and the Rev. J. Comper were in particular most attentive in their calls and inquiries. Before I left I bent over to kiss him (fearing that we might never meet again on earth). He seemed to know what was passing in my heart, for he said with affectionate fervour, “The Lord have mercy on us both!” He was, with a certain reserve which belonged to his character, the most affectionate and kindest of fathers.

A short, kindly visit from the Rev. Dr. Cooper, minister of the East Parish Church of Aberdeen, was also much appreciated, and he told me of it with satisfaction. Amongst the last who saw him was his relation, the venerable Dean of Aberdeen.

I had undertaken to preach at St. Salvador’s, Dundee, on Sunday, 18th, their dedication festival, and was able to fulfil the engagement, though it gave me great anxiety to leave at such a time. I left Aberdeen on the Saturday evening, and returned early on Monday morning. And, indeed, the end was not far off. My brother was telegraphed for, and arrived next day from Lancashire. But it was not expedient to postpone the last consolations of our Holy Faith, and on Tuesday morning my father received the most comfortable Sacrament of his Saviour’s

Body and Blood from the hands of his parish priest, the Rev. R. Cruickshank. His niece and myself received the Sacrament at the same time. As on previous occasions, since his illness, he was communicated with the Reserved Sacrament, according to the Scottish use and his own express desire. His last reception of Holy Communion was like the rest of his religious life—quiet, devout and earnest. He had evidently braced himself up for this last act of Christian faith, for soon afterwards he ceased to take much interest in anything that passed, and spoke but little. I had told him in the morning that my brother was coming, and he was evidently much pleased, and once asked me if he had arrived. He lingered on in great weakness, but latterly without acute suffering, until Friday the 23rd. The Bishop called in the afternoon, and gave him his final benediction. About 9 p.m. Mr. Cruickshank came and said the Commendation Prayer. Mr. J. P. Cumine, advocate, who had been devoted in his attentions, came to have a last look, and went away. Soon after, it became evident that the end was very near. Towards ten o'clock we knelt beside him, and while I repeated a Litany for the Dying, he passed away quietly and silently to his well-earned rest. It was all just as he would have wished. With those who were nearest and dearest at his side, his spirit entered behind the veil.

What struck me much during the last days was the childlike nature of my father's faith. Once we had gone over together the papers relating to his temporal affairs, all anxiety was at an end. He thought no more of those earthly matters as to which he had always been so careful and conscientious. He seemed to leave himself to God as a child might do without a moment's doubt as to His

love and mercy ; and yet ever thinking humbly and lowly of himself as unworthy of that great love. The Psalms were his special delight, and he knew most of them by heart. As long as he was able, almost to the last, they were read to him ; and the three Collects from the Morning and Evening Prayer were also repeated daily.

The Rev. Robert Cruickshank, Dr. Grub's clergyman, writes thus (May 30th, 1893):—"You could not help feeling that the end was the fitting close of a long life spent in the faithful discharge of duty. He felt that his work was done, and he calmly made his preparations for the great change. He was happily conscious till within a few days of the end, and almost up to the last took a lively interest in what was going on. His memory scarcely failed him, and he would talk readily of matters affecting the welfare of the Church. I may add that he received a visit from Father Forbes Leith, the Jesuit father who was expelled from Paris, and that he was able to discuss with him some point of Church history.

"During his last illness he received the Holy Communion regularly, and it was very beautiful to see how his whole being was concentrated on the sacred service in which he was taking his part. He loved the Church's prayers, and even when hardly conscious of anything else he seemed to rouse up on hearing the well-known words of the old familiar prayers. He died as he lived."

The following just and eloquent tribute was paid to the doctor's memory on the Sunday following his death by the Rev. Dr. Cooper, of the East Church, Aberdeen :—

"You will pardon me, my brethren, if, before proceeding with my sermon, I pause to pay a brief tribute to one of the most learned and, at the same time, one

of the most modest of our citizens, who passed away on Friday evening, in a good old age, full of years and honours. Though Dr. Grub did not belong to our communion, yet, as the most eminent historian of Scottish Christianity, the author of the most accurate and impartial narrative that we possess of our ecclesiastical history, he well deserves commemoration here; add to which, that he was the beloved teacher of not a few among us, and that his personal character notably exemplified some of the most beautiful graces of the Gospel—simplicity, cheerfulness, humility, faith, piety. Sprung of a stock that had ever been faithful with touching loyalty to the ancient but exiled line of our Scottish kings, and to the disestablished hierarchy of the Scottish Church, Dr. Grub was a typical representative of a minority of our countrymen indeed, but of a minority which has contributed not a little to the pathos and romance of our Scottish annals, and which won to its side in the beginning of the century the most patriotic and illustrious of Scotsmen, Sir Walter Scott. Dr. Grub held his opinions with the utmost tenacity, but without one tinge of bitterness, and he was scrupulously exact in his statements, and fair in his judgments on men of all parties. I remember once in conversation at my house how perfectly he put the history of that troubled century—the seventeenth—which caused those differences that to this day unhappily divide our National Reformed Church. ‘I cannot,’ he said, ‘understand the Presbyterian who, knowing the facts of the case, admires the conduct of the Covenanters in the time of Charles I.; or the Episcopalian who approves the ecclesiastical policy of Charles II.’ If people could realise that, we might not be far from a healing of old

misunderstandings. To me, personally, Dr. Grub, ever since I came to Aberdeen, has been most helpful in my studies, and valued as a friend. In matters historical and antiquarian I had occasion often to consult him, and he freely opened for my benefit his vast stores of information. I loved him also for his geniality and goodness. About a fortnight ago I had a last interview with him. He was lying in bed, his body powerless, except that he had regained, he said, the use of his hands; and his mind was clear. I said he had much to be thankful for. He replied at once, in a grave tone, which spoke volumes of inward peace, 'I have everything to be thankful for.' Could any one, my brethren, wish a happier end than thus to fall asleep giving thanks for everything to Almighty God? In the words of a poet after his own heart:—

“ ‘The promise of the morrow
Is glorious on that eve,
Dear as the holy sorrow
When good men cease to live.
When brightening ere it die away
Mounts up their altar flame,
Still tending with intenser ray
To Heaven, whence first it came.

“ ‘Say not it dies, that glory—
'Tis caught unquenched on high;
Those saint-like brows so hoary
Shall wear it in the sky.
No smile is like the smile of death,
When all good musings past
Rise wafted with the parting breath,
The sweetest thought the last.’ ”

Dr. Grub was buried in the churchyard of St. Machar, Old Aberdeen, on Tuesday, September 27th, 1892. The

funeral was not exactly public, but it was attended by many mourning friends, by his brethren of the Society of Advocates, and by the Professors of the University, the latter in their academical robes. The religious services on the occasion, morning and afternoon, were performed by the clergyman of St. John's Church, and by the Bishop of the diocese. All was done in such decency and order as the departed would have desired for himself. And now he "sleeps well" in front of the old cathedral, within a stone's-throw of his Alma Mater, and in the midst of the classic scenes of the "Old University Town," where his happy boyhood and youth were passed. Not a few earnest-minded men will make a pilgrimage to "the place of his rest"—men "out of" every English-speaking "nation under heaven"—men who reverence his genuine and most truly Christian character, and who, standing by the last resting-place of the mortal body, will lift up their thoughts to the "place of" the "soul"—blessing the same mentally with all the fervour of the poet:—

"Bright be the place of thy soul!
No lovelier spirit than thine
E'er burst from its mortal control,
In the orbs of the blessed to shine."

CHAPTER VII.

REMINISCENCES OF DR. GRUB BY FRIENDS—DEAN WEBSTER,
DR. DANSON, PROFESSOR HART, DR. WILLIAM ALEX-
ANDER—OBITUARY NOTICES FROM THE PUBLIC PRINTS:
ABERDEEN JOURNAL AND FREE PRESS, ATHENÆUM—
DR. GRUB'S WORKS—REPUTATION OF THE *ECCLESIAS-
TICAL HISTORY*—WHY HE DID NOT CONTINUE IT.

IN order to supplement his own imperfect sketch, the writer asked several of Dr. Grub's friends to supply him with a few reminiscences—especially, if possible, a few of their friend's characteristic good sayings. All were very willing to oblige, and a few sent valuable contributions. Dr. Danson promptly produced an acute and discriminating analysis of the good doctor's gifts and character, which forms the last, but assuredly not the least interesting nor the least valuable, chapter of this sketch. Dr. William Alexander, with a few graphic touches, hits off the charm of his character and manner. Dr. Hart pays a feeling and affectionate tribute to the esteem and affection with which the doctor was regarded by the Churchmen of America. As has been seen (in Chapter I.), Dean Webster, a relative and a very old friend, contributed several interesting particulars. Another relative, the Rev. William Temple, supplied a number of lively sayings confirmatory of the doctor's wit and wisdom, but not altogether suitable to the present sketch.

Most of his friends, though they had all heard many good things from the doctor's lips, seemed to find a

difficulty in recalling any of them which they believed would prove interesting to a reader of the present day.* This is a difficulty which presents itself in almost every case of the sort. Good things will not always *keep*, or bear to be transplanted. Their goodness or their impressiveness depends not only on their intrinsic quality, but also on their *setting*, or the circumstances under which they were spoken, the character of the speaker, and so forth. Moore, or some other great diner-out of his day, once made a remark which illustrates this fact, and also perhaps the different effect which is produced by the wit and humourist—especially the sarcastic wit and the genial humourist. He said, "When you spend an evening with George Selwyn, you think how many 'good things' you have heard; when you spend an evening with Sydney Smith, you think how much you have laughed!" The witticisms of the wit only occur at intervals—perhaps long intervals; the humour of a great and genial humourist like Sydney Smith pervades and flavours his whole speech, and enables him, at pleasure, by grotesque images and fantastic speculations, to set in a ludicrous light whatever may turn up in the conversation.† As has been said, the leading feature of Dr. Grub's conversation was, so to speak, its instructiveness or its didactic quality. Hence,

* One of the very wittiest men in England was the late Dean Mansel—"He was *always* saying good things," but, when applied to, few apparently who heard him could recall many of them. "Living," his friend Chandler says, "for so many years in the midst of all those witty sayings, I regret to say that I took no note of them at the time, and now scarcely one of them can I remember."

† A good instance of Sydney Smith's fertility in grotesquely humorous repartee has just met the writer's eye. Macaulay says he met Sydney one day at dinner, when he expected to meet also the famous Brahmin Ramohun Roy. The Brahmin did not come; and Macaulay says, "I told him

if you spent an evening with him, you did not as a rule think how much you had laughed, but how much you had *learnt*. You had doubtless been amused and entertained, but above all things you had been instructed. The instruction had been seasoned and flavoured with wit and humour, which made it palatable and memorable, but still it remained instructive, solid, and profitable.

Several friends say that when they attempted to recall what chiefly struck them in the doctor's conversation, it was not so much original sayings of his own as the wise or witty sayings of others which were quoted by him that occurred to them. The doctor was often very happy in the citation and application of such sayings. The writer one day walked into his office and said, "How do you do, doctor?" "Very well, thank you : how do *you* do, doctor?" Then looking up with a sly twinkle, he said, "We can look each other in the face without laughing," alluding, of course, to Cicero's saying about the Roman augurs.

The doctor took equal delight in the happy application of a good saying by a friend. A few years ago, on coming to Monymusk he recounted with keen appreciation an experience of this sort which he had just had. He had met a brother lawyer and tackled him with his neglect to return in due time a law paper which had been sent to him. "You received it in due time !

(Sydney) that my meeting him was some compensation for missing Ramohun Roy. Sydney broke forth, 'Compensation ! Do you mean to insult me ? A beneficed clergyman, an orthodox clergyman, a nobleman's chaplain, to be no more than compensation for a Brahmin ; and a heretical Brahmin, too ; a fellow who has lost his own religion and can't find another ; a vile heterodox dog, who, as I am credibly informed, eats beef-steaks in private ! A man who has lost his caste ! who ought to have melted lead poured down his nostrils if the good old Vedas were in force as they ought to be.'"
—*Macaulay's Life*, p. 158.

You 'll admit that?" "I admit nothing," was the reply. "'Never admit anything,' see—so and so" (quoting a high legal authority). The writer has forgotten the name of the authority that was appealed to, and he has not probably given his maxim fully or correctly, but it was clear from the way in which it tickled the doctor that the retort was a happy stroke of humour.*

REMINISCENCES BY FRIENDS OF DR. GRUB.

The first communication is from Dr. Hart, of Trinity College, Connecticut—already referred to—who may be taken to represent the American Church, and especially its presiding bishop, Dr. Williams, and the late Dr. Beardsley, the historian. Professor Hart had "great respect and affection for Dr. Grub," had received from him much kindness and attention, and had always great satisfaction in receiving a letter from him. When he first visited this country, Dr. Hart called on Dr. Grub, who took him to see all the interesting sights in Aberdeen—in particular the spot in Long Acre where the Seabury Consecration took place, and St. Andrew's Church, King Street, where a meeting of the Synod of Aberdeen was being held, at which the professor was present for some time. The professor spent the day with the doctor, and learnt so much from his conversation that he says when they parted, "I felt that I really knew something of Scotland."

When Professor Hart was in Aberdeen the second time,

* According to the writer's recollection, the lawyer friend of Dr. Grub on this occasion was the gentleman who has succeeded him as Lecturer on Conveyancing. Dr. Grub said he was one of the ablest and most promising of the younger race of advocates; and certainly in this encounter with him the doctor seems to have experienced something of

"That stern joy which warriors feel
In foemen worthy of their steel."

in 1884, attending the Seabury Commemoration, he lived with Dr. Grub during his whole stay in the city. On that occasion Dr. Grub also saw a good deal of the other American clergy, with all of whom he was greatly pleased, especially with Bishop Williams, with whom he spent a very happy day at Mr. Chivas's country-house on Deeside, where the bishop planted a tree to commemorate his visit. Professor Hart and his friends were struck not only by the extent of the doctor's literary and historical stores, but also by certain limitations of the same already referred to (Chap. I.). "He was greatly pleased," Dr. Hart says, "as you know, with Bishop Williams, and especially delighted to find that he admired the Stewarts and held Bishop Burnet in contempt; but he could not understand how our bishop could read and quote Dickens."

It was only natural that Jacobites should have had a strong feeling against Bishop Burnet. The feeling was very strong indeed amongst some old-fashioned Churchmen in Dr. Grub's younger days, and also generally among the keener members of the Oxford party. The late Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln appears to have been the first High Churchman of weight and authority who tried to stem the tide. It is said that on one occasion a literary clergyman of his diocese, a well-known Burnet-hater, asked him to recommend to him a subject for a book or article. His lordship suggested a life of Bishop Burnet—an eminent man, who had never had justice done to his merits!

It appears from the testimony of Bishop Williams that the feeling against Burnet was pretty strong on the other side of the Atlantic where it seems that during the war of independence Jacobites were found

fighting side by side with republican colonists against the forces of the Hanoverian king of Britain. The bishop's words are: "Born and living in a republic, I must own that my sympathies are altogether with the house of Stewart. I am sure I should have been a Jacobite had I lived in the '15 or the '45. Strange as it may seem, there were those in the country who fought on the side of the colonists in the war of the Revolution not so much for love of them as for hatred of the House of Hanover, and who believed that they were revenging Culloden and the murders of the 'butcher Duke'!" *

This is a very interesting fact, which has been apparently but little known on this side of the water. It was, however, a most natural sequel of the '45—Jacobites and the friends of Jacobites who fought and suffered in that ill-fated rising doubtless regarded the existing British Government as "the enemy," and had little scruple in taking up arms against it. And then and since, according to the strength of the Jacobitism, was the strength of the prejudice against Burnet—the arch-anti-Jacobite. But as old prejudices die out, a more just judgment will be meted out to Burnet. He was no doubt a strong partisan, as most earnest men of his time were, and spoke and wrote with a bias, but he evidently endeavoured to be fair and truthful. On this point there seems little to choose between the opinion of the High Church and Tory Johnson and the Whig and Low Church Macaulay. (*See Note, p. 275.*)

Burnet had an extraordinary career. In its first

* Letter from Bishop Williams, kindly communicated to the writer by its recipient, the Rev. Robert Webster, vicar of Crosby, Ravensworth—of date 1888.

stages it was almost identical with Dr. Grub's. He was an M.A. of Aberdeen at the age of fourteen! He then studied law for a year, but gave it up for divinity, and at the age of eighteen he was "licensed as a preacher," and was soon afterwards offered a church. He refused to accept preferment on account of his "youth and inexperience." At this period, indeed, and subsequently, he seemed more anxious to travel and prosecute his studies than to settle down in a charge, however tempting. He visited the most famous universities, and "perfected himself in Hebrew" at Amsterdam under a learned rabbi, and afterwards at Paris. Whatever else he may have been, Burnet was never dull. Johnson pronounced the *History of his own Times* one of the most entertaining books in the English language. When Burnet preached in London, it is said his hearers were not satisfied unless he held on for two hours on end. When his hour-glass ran down, they made a signal to him to turn it, and go on for another hour, which he readily did.

Dr. Hart sums up his reminiscences of Dr. Grub with the pregnant sentence: "I do not believe that any one else can ever represent to me as he did the Catholic Remainder in your land."* Dr. Hart may be safely taken to represent the clergy of America, especially those of Connecticut, the daughter-diocese of Aberdeen.

For the general community of Aberdeen no fitter or more worthy spokesman could be found than the genial author of *Johnny Gibb o' Gushetneuk*, and *Life among my Ain Folk*, an unerring judge, and most faithful limner of character.

* Letter to writer from Dr. Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut; December 17, 1892.

Dr. Alexander had a very high opinion of Dr. Grub, whom he pronounced "a most delightful man." He was, the writer understands, the very first to suggest in an influential quarter the movement to obtain before it was too late a portrait of the doctor by Sir George Reid. The writer has a letter from Dr. Alexander (May 11th, 1893), in which he says that he had wished, as requested by the writer, to send some "notes illustrative of the quaintly genial and jocular sayings of worthy Dr. Grub. But," he states, "try as I would, I could not recall anything worth sending you. It was more the presence of the man, and the peculiar charm of his manner, so full of unselfish kindness, so unfailingly bright and sympathetic with all that rightly interested others, while holding to well-defined opinions of his own, and ready to support them by abundant stores of exact information—it was all this more than any specific sayings, that made it so pleasant and so instructive to be in his company."

To these brief but interesting reminiscences the writer takes the liberty to append two excellent obituary tributes to the doctor's memory,—the first of which appeared in the *Aberdeen Journal* and *Free Press*, the second in the London *Athenæum*. Both manifestly came from the pens of men who thoroughly knew and could appreciate the good doctor.

From *Aberdeen Free Press* and the *Journal*,
September 24th, 1893.

"It would require a Sir George Reid in literature to portray with justness the stainless, the beautiful character of the venerable man who has just been called

to his rest. He was a man of sterling principle, of perfect integrity, a man in whom there was no guile. He was possessed of qualities which commanded the admiration and respect of all who came in contact with him. No one who had the privilege of being intimately acquainted with him could regard him otherwise than with most affectionate feeling; his constant kindness, his uniform courtesy, won the esteem of all. Rarely do we meet a man of such knowledge and power, combined with such gentleness and modesty. His was a truly noble character, his a most upright life. In all his professional work, to the smallest detail, he was most regular and accurate. Perfect order was his second nature, he was intensely methodical. In social life he was always noted for his cheerfulness and geniality. No company of whom Dr. Grub formed one was ever dull; there was no lack of cheerfulness where he was present. The doctor did not seek to pose as a humourist, but is there one of his friends who could not recall numberless sayings of his which for wit or smartness could scarcely be excelled?"*

From the *Athenæum*, September 30th, 1892.

"The death of Dr. George Grub removes the last of a band of historical scholars who reflected high credit on Scotland. Stuart, Joseph Robertson, Burton, Cosmo Innes, and Skene passed away before him, and now the kindest and most modest of them all has followed his brethren to the grave. Curiously enough, they were all Episcopalians by creed, but they did not allow their religious beliefs to warp their judgment. Dr. Grub's

*The above extract, the writer understands, appeared in both of the Aberdeen daily papers on the same day.

heart was in historical research. He was an excellent talker, and a sayer of witty sayings."

DR. GRUB'S WORKS.

Dr. Grub appears to have sent a few contributions to Lewis Smith's *Aberdeen Magazine*; but it was not till the establishment of the Spalding Club in 1839 that he began in earnest his fruitful historical labours.

"He was a member of the council of the club from the outset, and, along with Joseph Robertson, John Stuart, Cosmo Innes, John Dunn, and David Laing, he acted as an editor of its publications. In these capacities he did valuable services. Dr. Robertson and he edited *Gordon's History of Scots Affairs*, the first publication of the club—a work, in three volumes, which entailed no small labour at the hands of the editors. In 1853 the club issued *Innes's History of Scotland—Civil and Ecclesiastical*, edited by Dr. Grub. A life of Father Innes, written by Dr. Grub, was included in the volume, and with his permission it was printed in the edition of *Innes's Critical Essay*, published in the 'Historians of Scotland' series. The first volume (last in order of issue) of the *Illustrations of the Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff* was also prepared by Dr. Grub."

"Dr. Grub was the only member of the council of the Spalding Club who survived to see the formation of the New Spalding Club. In the transactions of the latter body he took no small part. He was one of the vice-presidents, and a member of the Editorial and of the Church Records Committees. He took a great interest in the work of the club, and few, if any, of its publications have been arranged for elsewhere than in his room in the Advocates' Library."

Occasionally Dr. Grub contributed articles to other publications. He "was a contributor to *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, the articles 'Scotland' and 'Church of Scotland' having been written by him. In earlier editions the article on 'Scottish Literature' was from his pen, but failing health prevented him from undertaking its revision for the new edition."

Of the doctor's occasional contributions to history there are several which have not been published, but of which a selection at least should be given to the world. He delivered some interesting lectures on matters connected with the early history of Aberdeen and the Aberdeen of his own early youth. He was an honorary member of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, and for some years a vice-president. Papers on the following subjects were read by him at meetings of that body:—"The Life of Bishop Elphinstone"; "The Life of Bishop Burnet, and his Character as a Historian and Biographer"; "Dr. James Beattie and his Friends"; "The Antiquities of Dunkeld"; "Froude's History, and Mary Queen of Scots"; "Elgin Cathedral"; "Review of the Evidence as to the Complicity of Queen Mary in the Murder of Darnley." In concert with his life-long friend and companion, the late Mr. Norval Clyne, he contributed a paper on "The Ecclesiastical and Baronial Antiquities of the Cathedral of Brechin and Castle of Edzell."

"THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY."

Considering its dimensions and cost, and the limited Episcopal public, Dr. Grub's great work was well received in Scotland, and from its solid and sterling character it has well stood the test of time. Its merits have been

freely acknowledged by representative men in all the leading communions. Mr. Gladstone in a letter to its author spoke of it as "the excellent work, which so well deserves the lofty title of a history." Lord President Inglis, from the judgment seat, judicially pronounced it "a careful and accurate historical work." The great and most learned Dr. Döllinger could not understand how a Scotchman outside both the Presbyterian and the Roman Catholic communions could write so impartially. Sir William Geddes, Principal of Aberdeen University, bears witness to the reputation of the work "as a memorial of learned research, which does honour to our age and to our city." Dr. John Stuart, the great archæologist, said of it, that "it was hard to say whether its learning or its impartiality was the greater."

Had a second edition of the History been called for within a reasonable time, the author would have made the work yet more worthy of his talents and reputation. For a time he made notes of additions and emendations, and he received, in one case at least, very valuable help from an unlooked-for quarter. An officer—the late General Stewart Allan, the writer thinks—sent him one after another four most accurate lists of the succession of bishops in four Scottish sees, Aberdeen and Caithness being in the number. The lists, the doctor said, evinced wide reading and intimate knowledge of Scottish ecclesiastical history. The doctor had made out lists of his own, but he said he laid them aside when he got these. According to the writer's recollection, the doctor never saw the general, and he said he did not even know what communion he belonged to latterly. He appears to have gone on forwarding lists to Dr.

Grub till his labours were arrested by death. He was a native of Moray.*

Dr. Grub was frequently requested both publicly and privately to continue his History to the present day. Latterly he would have probably complied with the general desire of Churchmen had he felt that his health and strength were equal to the task. At an earlier period he had another reason, viz., the delicacy of the task. The period following that at which his History closes was a very troubled period, and he, in his legal capacity, was much mixed up with the troubles. The Church had entered on a new era. Only four years elapsed between the death of Bishop William Skinner and the publication of the *Ecclesiastical History*, yet about the time of publication Dr. Grub said to a friend of the writer, "I stop at the death of Bishop William Skinner. It is fifty years since then!"

* Dr. Danson was present when Dr. Grub, in his own house, showed the lists, and explained their history. It was on the evening of August 31st, 1887.

CHAPTER VIII.

REMINISCENCES BY THE REV. JAMES MYERS DANSON, D.D.

DR. GRUB'S INTENSE REALITY—INCAPABLE OF DISSEMBLING HIS CONVICTIONS—INSTANCE OF HIS FIRMNESS IN CHECKING IRREVERENT TALK—HIS LOVE OF THE STEWARTS, AND INTIMATE ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE CAROLINE DIVINES—HIS OPINION OF NEWMAN AND THE OXFORD MEN—THE BROAD CHURCHMEN—BISHOP FORBES AND MR. CHEYNE—HIS STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY—CHARACTER OF HIS INTELLECT—EXTRAORDINARY MEMORY—INSTANCE OF THIS—MARCUS AURELIUS AND GIBBON—HIS HISTORICAL IMAGINATION—TASTE IN POETRY AND IN FICTION—SCOTT—HIS HUMOUR—CONVERSATION—GOOD SAYINGS—HIS WIDE READING AND IMMENSE STORES OF ANECDOTES—GENERAL CHARACTER.

It is a much more difficult task than appears before the attempt has been made to analyse the essential charm of a friendship that has been interrupted by death. Happily while friendships last they are independent of analysis. To be for ever cataloguing one's reasons for loving another is to become that "philosopher all eyes," branded by the poet as a "fingering slave, who would peep and botanise upon his mother's grave." But an attempt at analysis of the *remembered impression* is inevitable for one who would make others know and feel something of its power. On reviewing my impression of Dr. Grub's character in order to discover its most prominent feature, I find myself led past the gaiety of his humour, his brilliant powers of conversation, and his wide and diligent pursuit of literature—in fact,

above his many admirable qualities, to the one sublime virtue that crowns them all, his intense *reality*. His was an essentially truthful nature. He could neither disguise his likings nor aversions. He would not dissemble a conviction, although he would wisely distinguish between seasonable and unseasonable times for avowing it. A nature of his intense reality could not fail to be courageous, and when any cardinal principle was under discussion, either in religion or politics, speak out he would, whoever was present. He was dining once at a large house in Aberdeen, in the company of a distinguished agnostic (an ex-Presbyterian) and his two Indian pupils. The conversation, after the withdrawal of the ladies, turned upon the claim of Christianity to be the supreme and exclusive religion of the world. The Indians were willing to allow it a place in a grand pantheon, but scoffed the idea that their great national religions should ever have to make way for any single rival, however august. The agnostic took the same view, and argued that it would be wiser and more politic for Christianity to accept the position of a competitor than to demand universal sovereignty. Dr. Grub had taken no part in the discussion; but his countenance gradually became graver, and at last he spoke with a firmness that at once proved effectual: "Gentlemen, your conversation is exceedingly painful to me; would you be good enough to change the subject?"

Next to trifling with holy things, perhaps the most heinous offence in the doctor's censure was the expression of loose opinions upon the controversies which culminated in the Great Rebellion. Transported by his vivid historical imagination into the life of the distracted period, he entered heart and soul into all

its troubles. The cause of the King was to him the cause of God. In Queen Mary he would admit that there were faults, notwithstanding the gross exaggerations of her enemies; but in Charles the First the blots were very few and very small. Such as there were he would account for by "the wickedness of his enemies that compassed him round about." He would not allow the expression "the Civil War" to pass without challenge; but he would wax positively angry if the mode of King Charles's death were described in colourless phrase, and still more if in terms of approval. "Call it martyrdom or murder, sir, but *execution* you shall not," he cried to a law-student whom he was examining in general knowledge. With less earnestness, and perhaps half in-humour, he would refuse to allow a candidate to speak of "the Pretender." Here, however, he would smilingly permit the substitution of "Chevalier" as a compromise. His love for the house of Stewart, it must be strongly noted, had nothing in it of affectation or fine "sensibility"; he loved their principles of government, and especially admired the theology of their earlier divines. To him all that was noblest in English history, civil or ecclesiastical, was to be found in the Caroline period. He loved the unquestioning loyalty, as well as revered the sober piety and deep learning, of such men as Pearson and Jeremy Taylor. In fact there was scarcely a divine between the Hampton Court Conference and the time of Bishop Butler whose works he had not carefully read; and as he read he discriminated, appreciated, and assimilated. In theology, as in practical religion, he craved for *reality*. His interest in modern theology was limited to the writings of the Tractarians. The prose of Newman as well as the

harp of Keble was music in his ear. He had, however, but scant patience with the theories of the higher critics, and would not even take the trouble to understand the position of F. D. Maurice or Robertson of Brighton. Among Non-jurors he was an eclectic, rejecting, for example, *their* rejection of lay-baptism. He stopped short of the Eucharistic views of Bishop Forbes and Mr. Cheyne. In Christian practice he improved upon the customs he had inherited, *e.g.*—for many years at one part of his life he never missed the daily services in St. John's.

His strict observance of the Lord's Day throughout life was tinged almost with a Sabbatarian hue. Secular reading was entirely eschewed. No greater proof of his real adherence to principle in this matter could be cited than that even Scott, his moral and literary hero, was put aside as an incongruous author for Sunday reading. The tenderness of his conscience may be further illustrated by the fact that for many years he declined to "insure his life," not being satisfied that there was not in insurance a presumptuous obviation of the decrees of Divine Providence. But above all, the ethical temper of his mind is evinced in the view he took of historical parties and individuals. The un-failing question was ever on his lips as he spoke, or uppermost in his mind as he wrote: was this particular line of action, or single piece of conduct, *right or wrong*? Reality of conviction and conscientious discharge of duty beautified this good man's character on every side.

The intellectual side of Dr. Grub was as remarkable for its limitations as for its compass. He was gifted with an extraordinary memory, which not only retained a vast array of single facts, but held them in correlation to all their cognates. It was positively dangerous to

quote such voluminous writers as Gibbon, or Hume, or Bingham in his presence unless you were fresh from your author. As an example of this I may mention that one day I called upon him at the Advocates' Library, when we fell to discussing the unwisdom of publishing in the ordinary newspapers the differences of opinion that arise in our own Church upon questions of doctrine or public policy. I forget the particular controversy which was then raging, but I made the remark that Marcus Aurelius would not accept the services of any of the barbarian allies who crowded to his standard, on the ground that Rome herself was not strong enough "to allow barbarians to become acquainted with the dissensions of the Roman people." "Where did you get *that* from?" asked the doctor. "Gibbon," replied I. "No," he rejoined; "I have read my Gibbon five times, and I am tolerably certain it is not there." Feeling certain that I was right, I went home and made the discovery that my quotation was only one of Milman's notes to Gibbon's text (vol. i. 216, Smith's edition, with notes by Milman, Guizot, and Wenck; Murray, 1862). I think most men will agree that it requires a greater strength of memory to deny than to affirm that a large book contains a particular statement. It would, however, be a gross injustice to the mental quality of Dr. Grub to suppose that an excellent memory was its best characteristic. To take, for example, his favourite study, history; memory might have made him an annalist, but a higher gift was needed to make him an historian. Now, admirable as is his *Ecclesiastical History*, I can never persuade myself that in this work he has exhausted all the qualities of his mind as a writer of history. His devotion to exactitude of statement tamed

the spirit and weakened the pinions of his really fine *historical imagination*. All, I am sure, will here agree with me who have heard Dr. Grub *talk* upon historical subjects. The firm step with which he marched through distant periods of time; the readiness with which he found parallels and analogies; the bright play of fancy upon this and that man's conduct who had surrendered to worthy or unworthy motives; the wide outlook upon "all peoples, nations, and languages," north, south, east, and west, both before and after the commencement of the Christian era—all these made his historical conversations brilliant and captivating.

In poetry, he was a warm adherent of the objective school, from Homer to Scott. Considering that he was entirely non-musical (unable, as he affirmed, to distinguish one tune from another), it was remarkable how true was his ear for the music of verse. The opening stanza of "Kubla Khan," for example, he would recite with rapture, simply for its luxury of sound. For the same reason he loved the "linked sweetness" of the Spenserian stanza, and the clangour of martial strains. Philosophical poems he could not tolerate, and even Tennyson's bewitching note could not reconcile our friend to read his most thoughtful poems with any degree of pleasure. I do not think he would have denied that Wordsworth's sonnets were the last poems that had moved his admiration. In both poetry and prose he maintained that we were an inferior age, and he would often challenge any one to name half-a-dozen prose writers in the present century who should equal the same number he would select from the eighteenth.

"Our builders are with want of genius curst,
The second temple was not like the first."

Physics and metaphysics were sealed books to him. Fiction he had read widely, but not the fiction of a recent generation. Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Richardson, Goldsmith, Jane Austen, and Maria Edgeworth, were all prime favourites, but the *vates dilectus* was ever the unapproachable Scott. He could have taken the prize against all comers at an examination on the *Waverley Novels*. With what readiness he would apply to any subject in hand some witty, wise, or tender saying of one of the countless characters who figure in this vast gallery of human life! Among the Latin poets, Horace was his best-known, if not his best-beloved. The doctor was also familiar with the best French writers of a past age, and had some knowledge of both German and Spanish authors. There was therefore no lack of literary reference in his conversations with well-read friends.

I have not said anything of the quality of his humour, which those who knew him will always associate with his memory. Like all good talkers, he loved to talk. And yet he was not happy unless he could make others take their share. He proved his gentlemanliness of spirit whenever he took down a lady to dinner who might not be particularly interesting, by doing his best to entertain her with anecdote or enlivening conversation. Among men, his jests were frequent and welcome. A well-known sheriff about to give a lecture to a literary institute upon "Proverbs," dropped into the library to ask if the doctor could recommend a book on the subject. "There is one here by an Eastern monarch named Solomon that has enjoyed a long reputation," was the reply.

An insurance company which had received the

doctor's name as a referee in behalf of some young man who sought a policy put the usual question: "So far as you are aware, is he a man of temperate habits?" "I know nothing against his moral character, except that he is a teetotaller," was the doctor's answer. Without limiting himself to original *bons mots*, his humour had at command a thousand anecdotes, which he had gathered without effort from the endless number of biographies and personal reminiscences with which he was familiar. From the dry genealogical ramifications of a Scottish noble family, which he would trace with all the fulness of an expert in pedigrees—from lists of Popes and Spanish grandees, from the maddening perplexities of the zigzag succession in the House of Burgundy, he would turn, in a single evening's conversation, to the sallies of Dr. Johnson against Boswell and his compatriots—to the most recent conundrums with which he had posed his co-examiners of law candidates at Edinburgh—to the caustic humour of Swift stinging the Whigs—to the pathos of some ruined adherent of the house of Stewart, still blessing the cause of his own calamities—to the oddities of a past generation of leading lawyers in Aberdeen—and to the enormities of Burnet or Macaulay in vilifying the Tories. Nothing more delighted him than to give information from his boundless stores to a young clergyman honestly and earnestly wishing his aid.

Perhaps I have said enough to convince others that in the death of Dr. Grub our Church in Scotland has sustained no ordinary loss. Devout, learned, and vigorous—conservative in the main bent of his mind, yet ever open to the consideration of new practical problems—affectionate in his intercourse with his fellow-men, although

firmly tenacious of his own principles—ripe in years but young in feeling, he will long be remembered as the most striking layman the Church in the north of Scotland has produced for the last fifty years.

J. M. D.

To the above true and masterly account of Dr. Grub may be added what Dr. Danson said on another occasion (*Scottish Standard Bearer*, March 1892) of the “leading Aberdeen Churchmen and *literati*,” and Dr. Grub’s place among them:—“The twenty years during which the present writer (Dr. Danson) has known Dr. Grub have carried away many of the leading Aberdeen Churchmen and *literati*, who at one time shone in the art of intelligent and enjoyable conversation. They were learned but not oracular, vivacious but not boisterous, critical but not envenomed, ‘good-haters’ without malice. Among them, when assembled for social intercourse, Dr. Grub was the leading and animating spirit; but no man dogmatised, and no man was dumb. History, poetry, politics, Church affairs, literary biography, and personal reminiscences filled the too brief evening.”

NOTE TO CHAPTER VII.

DR. JOHNSON ON BISHOP BURNET.

“Burnet’s *History of his own Times* is very entertaining. The style, indeed, is mere chit-chat. I do not believe that Burnet intentionally lied; but he was so much prejudiced that he took no pains to find out the truth. He was like a man who resolves to regulate his time by a certain watch; but will not inquire if the watch is right or not.”—(Boswell, iii. 250. Ed. 1846.)

Again (v. 10): “The first part [of the *History*] is one of the most entertaining books in the English language; it is quite dramatic, while he went about everywhere, saw everywhere, and heard everywhere.” (See also vii. 10.)

LORD MACAULAY.

“So you are reading Burnet. What do you think of the old fellow? He was always a great favourite of mine—honest, though careless, a strong party man on the right side, yet with much kind feeling towards his opponents, and even towards his personal enemies. He is to me a most entertaining writer; far superior to Clarendon in the art of amusing, though, of course, far Clarendon’s inferior in discernment, and in dignity and correctness of style.”—(*Life and Letters*, p. 240. Ed. 1888.)

Compare with these criticisms, Burnet’s own account of the character and purpose of his great work, as given in his preface:—

“I writ with a design to make both myself and my readers wiser and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all sides and parties as clearly and impartially as I myself understood, concealing nothing that I thought fit to be known; and representing things in their natural colours without art or disguise, without any regard to kindred or friends, to parties or interests: for I do solemnly say this to the world, and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth on all occasions

as fully and freely as upon my best inquiry I have been able to find it out. When things appear doubtful, I deliver them with the same uncertainty to the world." Further: "I set about it [the *History*] with great care and caution. For I reckon a lie in history to be as much a greater sin than a lie in common discourse, as the one is like to be more lasting and more generally known than the other."

"I have on design avoided all laboured periods or artificial strains, and have writ in as clear and plain a style as was possible."

Dr. Grub's lecture on Burnet would be interesting reading.

Appendix.

NOTE TO THE SKETCH OF BISHOP TERROT.

WHEN the sketch of Bishop Terrot passed through the press the writer had not before him a complete copy of the poem *Common Sense*. This he has now obtained through the kindness of the Bishop of Edinburgh, and he finds that some things were omitted which throw a striking light on the difference between *now* and *then*. The then youthful author of *Common Sense* made a forecast of his future, of the fulfilment of which the reader can judge for himself—

“Were I a bishop (though I do not hope
For that high honour more than to be Pope)
I’d act from conscience.”

Surely he did so act.

It is, however, in his capacity as literary critic that the most striking episode is found. As “gamekeeper,” to use his own simile, he warns off Parnassus two of the poets of his day who are now ranked amongst the six or seven greatest singers of the century—namely, Wordsworth and Keats. In this summary procedure he was only exaggerating a little the critical decisions of the two great reviews. Of Wordsworth’s style the Aristarchus of the Edinburgh had said, “This will never do.” John Keats, the *Quarterly* was believed to have “killed off by one critique.” Most present-day critics would

probably admit that both the reviews, and our author also, have in this matter a good deal to say for themselves. Keats's first attempts, which alone our author knew, were decidedly crude, but he had great gifts and made a rapid and marvellous advance before he was cut off at twenty-six. To the last, Wordsworth's fine gold was too often dimmed or buried under heaps of "elevated but abstract verbiage alien to the very nature of poetry."*

Our critic overrates Southey at least as much as he underrates Wordsworth. He says (note, p. 10), "*Roderick, the last of the Goths*, by Southey, by far the finest of modern epic poems. I might incur ridicule were I to own what I think of it as compared with the great epics of antiquity." He had applied to Wordsworth the well-worn sarcasm, only too justifiable as regards most "modern epics" or long poems of any sort:—

"Thou shalt be read when Homer is forgotten,
And the great Goth in dust and worms is rotting."

Homer is still read, but the great Goth (Roderick) is pretty well forgotten; Wordsworth is also read, and will continue to be read in his short poems and in extracts from his long ones. He was never successful in the composition of a long poem; nor probably could he have been, owing to the "limitations" of his poetical gift and machinery—his want of invention, action, situation, character, also of wit and humour. Our critic would have had able abettors even now, if, instead of refusing to Wordsworth the title of a poet altogether,

* The phrase is that of Matthew Arnold (*Poems of Wordsworth*, London, 1880). Mr. Arnold called himself a "Wordsworthian," and, "on the whole," thought Wordsworth would, in the year 1900, be pronounced the greatest poet of the century. Yet he speaks as above of his chief poem, *The Excursion*, and he admits that Jeffrey was "not wrong" when he said, "This will never do."

he had merely denied that he was a *great* poet—a poet like Shakespeare or Milton—a poet who could “treat a great subject in a great manner,” making men in a long epic or drama lay bare their hearts and unfold their characters through their actions.

AN IRREVERENT MODE OF EXPRESSING REVERENCE.

The writer has received, rather late for a full account, a very characteristic anecdote of Bishop Terrot, as witty as his Aberdeen saying about the laity not keeping the clergy “in better condition.” It was also quite good-natured and reverent, but yet, even now, if given as spoken, it might be misunderstood. On one occasion a well-known clergyman from the other side of the Forth and Tay called on the bishop, and happened to mention to him that he had lately been asked by a brother clergyman of the same diocese to sign an address to their bishop, in which that respected prelate was designated, “The Lord Bishop of —.” The clergyman said he agreed to sign at once if this title were left out, but this his interlocutor firmly refused to do, saying he would rather “forfeit his baptismal privileges.” On this the bishop, who was sitting with his feet on the fender, turned his head round and said, in effect and in pungent phrase, that he supposed that that was an old oath in a new style. In fact it was substantially the same mode of expressing reverence and honour as that of the Calvinistic “fanatics” who “profess themselves, with impious audacity, willing to be damned for God’s glory.”* —*Vide* p. 138, note.

* The expression “I’d rather forfeit,” &c., was not, it seems, by any means so new in style as the bishop imagined. A brother clergyman says it was not uncommon in the days of “the Lords of the Congregation.”

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